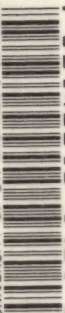


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The Founding of a
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IN THIS OPEN COURT
WHICH NOW LIES NAKED TO THE INJURIES
OF STORMY WEATHER, SOME MEN LIE INTERRED WHO
LOVED THE CHVRCH SO WELL, AND GAVE SO LARGELY TO IT.
THEY THOUGHT IT SHOULD HAVE CANOPIED THEIR BONES
TILL DOOMSDAY: BUT ALL THINGS HAVE THEIR END.

(OLD PLAY.)

THE TOMB OF BISHOP GAVIN DUNBAR.

[Frontispiece.]

The Founding of a Northern University

BY

F. A. FORBES

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“ We may be permitted to view the ancient Church as an artist with a task proposed ; to examine the materials in her power, and the skill with which she used them. We shall then find much to admire, something, perhaps, to imitate. . . . We are astonished at her adaptation of herself to all circumstances and patient bending of all things to her purpose. However politicians dispute, we cannot regard without sympathy her care of the poor, and the ceaseless charity which she inculcated for the benefit of the giver as well as of the receiver. Not less worthy of our attention is her avowed and consistent principle of inspiring piety by an appeal to the imagination and the heart. Subservient to that end was the munificence directed—*ad ampliandum cultum divinum, ad decorem domus Dei*—to make more glorious the service and the fabric of the Church, not as a mere place of popular instruction, or a convenient meeting-house for devotion, but regarded by the old Catholic, as by the Jews of old, as the temple and very shrine of a present Deity, where innumerable altars were offering up the ever-renewed sacrifice of propitiation. The effect of such means for the object proposed—to produce strong faith and unhesitating obedience ; the success of the great plan of the ancient Church, and its whole influence on society—are subjects of reflection not to be slighted by the most philosophical, nor rejected by those most opposed to the Roman Catholic doctrines, with the same ends in view.”—*Sketches of Early Scotch History*, COSMO INNES.

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THE FOUNDING OF A NORTHERN UNIVERSITY

CHAPTER I

THE WILD NORTH IN THE MIDDLE AGES

NORTH of the Grampian Mountains, enclosing the three fair straths of Dee, Don and Spey, lies a wide tract of land which has more than once stood for Scotland's freedom. There the lover of every type of nature's beauty, be it wild mountain or moorland, pine forest or birch-fringed glen, may drink his fill, and the lover of romance go in and out and find pasture. The invading armies of Rome fell away discouraged before its rocky fastnesses and their indomitable defenders ; the Scandinavian sea-rovers suffered on its shores two crushing defeats, while the life and death struggle against the power of England came to a crisis on its moors.

The wild scenery of the Northern Highlands found its reflection in the lives of its mediæval

chiefs and barons, whose strong castles, dotted about here and there throughout the country, were a standing endorsement of the old motto, " Might is Right." Although not a few of these chieftains were originally of Norman or Saxon descent, they had long ago adopted the Highland customs, and the clan system prevailed among them almost as fully as in the West. Vassals and dependants stood by their chief through evil and through good report, with a loyal fidelity which stands out as a thing of beauty amongst much that was less worthy of admiration. Many members of each clan or family were actually branches or descendants of the parent stock, while all were bound to their chief by the strongest ties of love and friendship.

Although these conditions made for internal harmony, they made also for quick resentment of injury from without ; an insult to one member of the clan was taken as a mortal affront to all. Submission to such an insult would not only have been looked upon as a disgrace, but as an invitation to further aggression ; hence the necessity for instant reprisals. Given the abso-

lute contempt of danger characteristic of a race descended from generations of fighting men, together with the reckless disregard of human life that prevailed at the time, it is not surprising that insult and reprisal led to bitter blood feuds, enduring sometimes for centuries. While this constant state of warfare may have tended, as it assuredly did, to make the Highlanders of the North a hardy and independent people, it most undoubtedly also made them uncomfortable neighbours. A visit from these "gentlemen from the country," riding at the head of their armed bands, was looked upon with some apprehension by the citizens of the royal Burgh of Aberdeen, nor were such fears altogether unfounded, even if it came to nothing worse than the fighting out of a private quarrel in the streets of the city. The old rhyme, said to have been the motto of the Leslie family—

" Between the *less lea* and the mair
I slew a knight and left him there,"

suggests, in its expressive simplicity, the usual method of settling a difference of opinion in the brave days of old. Yet the difficulty was by

no means settled, with the body of the slain knight lying stiff and stark in the lesser meadow. Reprisals would come, as surely as the sunrise next morning ; counter-reprisals would follow, and a feud was established which might endure for generations.

The Leslies, although turbulent enough,—in the proud consciousness, perhaps, that they were the oldest of the Northern families *—seem to have met their match in the Forbeses, who, although they appeared on the stage of history at a somewhat later date, made themselves dramatically evident when they did so. “By them,” says a modern writer, “a third part of the fortalices in Aberdeenshire were built or at some time inhabited,” and judging from their martial exploits, they must frequently have stood in instant need of them.

On account of a desperate quarrel with Sir John Forbes of Druminnor, which brought the

* Bartholf, or Bartholomew de Leslyn, founder of the family, came over from Hungary in the suite of St Margaret, wife of Malcolm III., and received extensive grants of land in Aberdeenshire and elsewhere from the King. A Charter, dating from the latter part of the twelfth century, by Earl David, brother of William the Lion, grants the lands of Leslie in the Garioch to Malcolm, son of Bartholf.

whole Forbes clan about his ears, Sir Andrew Leslie of Balquhain, known in a wild age as one of the wildest of the Northern barons, entrenched himself in a fortress of unhewn stone on the top of Benachie, from which mountain stronghold he successfully defied his enemies, only emerging in order to conduct an occasional raid into their territory. Matters must have reached an acute stage when he carried off the "fair maid of Strathdon," daughter of Baron Forbes of Innerwin, but a common danger seems to have momentarily healed the feud, for Sir Andrew next appears in command of a mounted squadron, riding out with all the chivalry of the North under the standard of the Earl of Mar to meet the Lord of the Isles at Harlaw. His eleven stout sons,* says the old chronicler, rode beside him, but he returned to his mountain fastness alone.

" The coronach's cried on Benachie
And doun the Don and a',
And Hieland and Lowland may mournfu' be
For the sair field of Harlaw."

* The Leslies were given to patriarchal families. William, first Baron of Wardes, and his wife, Jean Cruickshank, had twenty-one children, and *danced at the wedding of the sixteenth*.

The coronach must have found a poignant echo in that wild old heart. Nine years later Andrew was himself slain by an enemy, and his widow erected a chapel in the place where he fell, and endowed it, that prayers and Masses might be said therein for his soul. He probably needed them.

The Leslie's had a good deal to do, though indirectly, with the "sair field of Harlaw," for Donald, Lord of the Isles, had married Eufame, or Euphemia, the daughter of Walter, Lord Leslie, first Earl of Ross, whose history is as romantic as that of the Baron of Balquhain. While still a youth he had quarrelled with the Thane of Enzie, and in the passage of arms that followed, the Thane and several of his followers were killed. Whether Walter was over-young for this kind of exploit, whether the number of the slain exceeded what was allowed by Highland convention, or whether the King put down his foot, history does not relate, but Walter was obliged to flee the country. He found a wider field for his activities in fighting the Saracens, which he did with such valour and chivalry

as to earn for himself the title of “ the Generous Knight.” Homesick, however, like many a Scotsman since, for the mountains and straths of his native land, he returned to Scotland, and succeeded in obtaining his pardon from King Robert the Bruce, who showed him much favour and bestowed on him the hand of the daughter and heiress of the Earl of Ross. They had two children, Alexander, who became Earl of Ross through his mother, Countess in her own right ; and Euphemia, married to Donald, Lord of the Isles. The daughter of Alexander, to whom the Earldom legally belonged, having become a nun, resigned her inheritance in favour of her maternal uncle, the Earl of Buchan. Thereupon the Lord of the Isles, determined to enforce what he considered to be his own claim, mustered an army 10,000 strong and pressed onwards to the conquest of the North. The city of Aberdeen lay directly in his line of march, and his men were out for plunder.

Aberdeen had had experiences which she had no desire to repeat. In 1153 a raid from the Norsemen had, as the Norse saga picturesquely

puts it, "destroyed the peace of the dwellers in Apardion"—a process which was to recur more than once in the history of the Northern city. She had suffered considerably in the Wars of Independence, and there were men still living who could remember the sack and the burning of the town by the English in 1336.

Donald's army had passed triumphantly through Moray, the Enzie and Strathbogie, and was already in the Garioch. The city was knit by many ties to the surrounding country, and the barons of the North came nobly to the rescue. Forty burgesses, chosen from among the citizens, and headed by the Provost, Sir Robert Davidson, marched forth to join the army mustered in haste by the Earl of Mar.* It numbered, says the old chroniclers, scarcely a tenth of Donald's, but the men who composed it were fighting for home and freedom. Night, rather than victory, put an end to the battle, and when morning broke it was found that the

* Sir Robert Davidson seems to have been an old friend of the Earl of Mar. The Burgh accounts of 1398 record "a payment for a stirrup cup of Bon Accord to Alexander Stewart before Robert Davidson's gate."

Lord of the Isles had withdrawn. What was left of Mar's army held the field, but many of the Northern chieftains, together with Sir Robert Davidson and a number of his brave burgesses, had fought their last fight—

“ And sic a weary burying,
The like ye never saw,
As there was the Sunday after that
On the muirs down by Harlaw.”

The Earl of Mar, in recognition of his services, was appointed Protector of Aberdeen, rather a diplomatic move on the part of the Council, for Mar, son of the terrible “ Wolf of Badenoch,” and a more lawless barbarian even than his father, was thus, so to speak, “ put on his honour ” to respect the rights of the city.

A “ wild North ” indeed—yet not so wholly barbarous, since it produced the poet and the historian of early Scotland. The city which could count among its Cathedral priests such men as Fordun and Barbour was already one of the principal towns of Scotland. “ Long before Edinburgh had acquired the precedence of a capital, or even the first place among the four Burghs of Central Scotland, Aberdeen had taken

its place as a great and independent Royal Burgh.”* Like most of the other Scottish cities, it had been held during the Wars of Independence by an English garrison, but the citizens, many of whom had fought with the Bruce at Barra, rose, and, under cover of the night, succeeded in wresting it from their hands. Determined that it should never again serve as a stronghold to their enemies, they razed the castle to the ground. It is said that the battle-cry of the Aberdonians on this occasion, “Bon Accord,” was the origin of the town’s motto. They sullied their triumph, however, by putting to death all their prisoners, the Church—the one controlling power in those wild times—having interceded for them in vain. All that the Canons of the Church of St Nicholas could obtain from the enraged townsmen was leave to bury the bodies of the slain in the vicinity of the Church. When the rage of battle was over, and hot blood had had time to cool, they probably repented of the deed, for they appear to have accepted whole-heartedly the penance

* *Sketches of Early Scotch History*, Cosmo Innes.

laid upon them that they should go every Sunday to the Chapel of St Ninian and pray there for the souls of their victims.

“The Scots do not hold themselves to need walled cities,” says John Major,* writing in the early part of the sixteenth century, “and the reason of this may be, that they get them face to face with the enemy with no delay, and build their cities, as it were, of men. The nearest chief gathers the neighbouring folk together, and at the first word of the presence of the foe, each man before midday is in arms, for he keeps his weapons about him, mounts his horse, makes for the enemy’s position, and, whether in order of battle or not in order of battle, rushes on the foe, not seldom bringing destruction on himself as well as on the invader—but it is enough for them if they compel him to retreat. And should the enemy chance to come off victor, then the next chief gathers another force, always at the cost of the people themselves who take part, and goes out to further combat. There are in Scotland for the most part two

* *History of Scotland*, John Major, 1526.

strongholds to every league, intended both as a defence against a foreign foe, and to meet the first outbreak of a civil war ; of these some are not strong ; but others, belonging to the richer men, are strong enough. The Scots do not fortify their strongholds and cities by entrenchments, because, were these to be held at any time by the enemy, they would simply serve him as a shelter ; and thus it would in no way profit the Scots, especially within the marches of the enemy, to possess fortified cities or even strongholds.”

John of Fordun, the first historian of Scotland, was born in the early part of the fourteenth century, educated for the priesthood, and attached to the Cathedral of St Machar in Aberdeen. A copy of his *Chronicle*, dating from the beginning of the fifteenth century,* tells us that, the greater number of the older Scottish chronicles having been carried off by the English during the Wars of Independence, “a venerable Scottish priest, John of Fordun by name, incited by zeal for his country, set his

* Now in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh.

hand boldly to the work nor rested from his undertaking, until with great pain and labour, having travelled through England and the neighbouring provinces, he had collected enough of what was best to compose five volumes of his *Scotichronicon*, on the delectable deeds of the Scots. And so on foot, making his way like a busy bee through Britain and Ireland, through cities and towns, churches and monasteries, among historians and chroniclers, handling their books of annals, he travelled, and by means of this tedious investigation discovered many things which he knew not, and collected them together in his volume."

It is easy enough to scoff at the result of this patient and laborious undertaking, and to laugh at the simple childlike faith which accepted without question marvels recounted by men whose veracity it saw no reason to doubt; but have we ever thought of what it must have meant to write history in a world where there were no books but such as had been laboriously transcribed by monks in their cloisters, and to tramp painfully on foot to every place in

Great Britain where such books were to be found?

Barbour, the poet of early Scotland, a contemporary and fellow-citizen of Fordun, and, like him, a priest, studied Canon Law at Aberdeen, proceeding thence, like so many Scottish students of pre-University days, to Oxford. In 1356 we find him, Archdeacon of Aberdeen, appointed as one of the Commissioners sent to arrange the treaty for the ransom of David II., then a prisoner in England. In 1365 and 1368 he was in France engaged in scholarly research, and in 1388 received a pension from Robert II. in acknowledgment of his services to literature. "In his poem, 'The Brus,' " says a modern writer, "appears the earnest, high-minded enthusiasm for things chivalrous and tender, which has been the key-note of Scottish poetry ever since. It is a reflection in bright, unfading colours of the mind and manners of the North in times that have long passed away."* But there are other characteristics worth noting of this son of the wild North, since we can hardly

* *Early Scottish Poetry*, Eyre Todd.

believe, even given the fact that Barbour was a poet and a priest, that they were not in some degree characteristic of his time and of his kin. "We find in 'The Bruce,'" says the author quoted above, "a faithful picture, not only of the mind and manners of the time, but of the mentality of that wild North of which Barbour was himself the child. It was given to him to show the true meaning of the struggle for freedom that Scotland had fought so valiantly, to keep the wakened soul of the nation alive. The very spirit of all that is best in chivalry—its strength and its tenderness, its heroism and endurance, breathes in his verse. He sets before us a vivid picture of the life and manners of his time, touched in with a quaint shrewdness of observation, together with a poet's tenderness and an artist's love of colour. Were it not for him, the passion of patriotism which gave Scotland a soul for four hundred years, might have died with Douglas and Bruce, and the living heroes of the Scottish Wars of Succession and independence might have come down to us little more than empty names."

Barbour died in the year 1395, leaving an annuity that he had received from the King to the Chapter of Aberdeen, that an annual Mass might be said in perpetuity for his soul.

Such were the men of the wild North, knight and baron, poet and scholar. We catch a fleeting glimpse of them as they flit for a moment across the pages of history, to vanish amid the mists of moor and mountain.

CHAPTER II

TOWN LIFE IN MEDIAEVAL TIMES

“ ABERDEEN in the fifteenth century presents us with the most perfect specimen that we have of the municipal organisation of a Scottish Royal Burgh,” says Cosmo Innes. “ Unlike Edinburgh, Stirling, or even Perth, it was rarely, and only for a brief interval, that the power of the Town Council was overshadowed by the presence or the intervention of the Crown.”*

On certain occasions, it is true, we find the Council appealing to the King to settle a disputed question, or to uphold its decisions, but, as a general rule, the Northern city seems to have been wholly capable of managing its own affairs.

The governing body consisted of a definite number of magistrates—to wit, a Provost and

* *Sketches of Early Scotch History.*

four Bailies—who were elected annually on the first Monday after Michaelmas. The Council administered justice in the Burgh Courts, heard and decided all controversies, established municipal laws for the welfare of the citizens, and regulated the prices of imported and manufactured goods. The Provost, moreover, had not infrequently to perform duties of another kind, for it fell to him to lead the citizens to battle in time of war—he had hence to be a valiant soldier as well as a wise councillor.

One of the first appeals on record in which the Council appealed to the Crown took place towards the end of the thirteenth century, on occasion of a municipal dispute between the Burgh of Aberdeen and the good town of Montrose. In the year 1273 King Alexander III. had granted to “his burgesses of Aberdene” the right to hold a yearly fair or market, “to last for two weeks, from the day of the Holy Trinity, with all the privileges pertaining to the fairs held in other burghs of the kingdom.” The merchants of Montrose were in the habit of attending this fair—which apparently they had no right to

do—and of making their presence unpleasantly obvious, for in 1289 we find the burgesses of Banff complaining bitterly to the King that the holding of the yearly fair “for the benefit of us and other burghs lying to the north of the mountains is obstructed and every year disturbed by the citizens of Montrose, to the no small prejudice and injury of the foresaid burgh of Aberdene, and indeed of the whole northern province.”

A Commission was accordingly appointed to look into the matter, and in 1319 King Robert I. granted to “his beloved and trusty burgesses and community of the burgh of Aberdeen that the fair they were wont to engage in on the feast of the Holy Trinity should be held henceforth for two weeks from Low Sunday, *under our sure peace and protection.*” Montrose, however, persisted in its evil ways, for again in 1342 King David II., having confirmed all previous privileges, strictly forbade any one to “make bold in despite of this our grant, to trouble or annoy or inconvenience our trusty burgesses of Aberdeen, *on pain of this our full forfeiture.*” Even

this seems to have failed to daunt the men of Montrose, for in 1458 King James II. altered the beginning of the Aberdeen fair to the feast of St Michael, “ from favour to the said burgesses and dwellers in the said burgh,” and strictly enjoined on “ *all and sundry of our lieges and subjects* not to make bold in time to come to attempt anything in opposition to the tenure and infestment of the said fair, *under every penalty competent in the circumstances.*” This thinly-veiled allusion to “ sundry of our lieges,” and the threat which followed it—all the more terrible for its vagueness—seems to have done its work, for we hear no more of the misdoings of the Montrose merchants.

The fear of “our auld ennemies the Inglis,” and the exploits of the “gentlemen of the country,” however, kept the Council sufficiently occupied.

In 1497, “ for the safetie of this toun, and the resisting of the auld ennemies of England,” it was “ statuted and ordained ” by the Council that the city should be fortified and a blockhouse built “ at the haven’s mouth.” A month later,

the danger seeming more imminent, a statute went forth that “ gif the Englisemen propose to land ” the townsmen shall turn out with gunnery and artillery to resist them, “ for the safetie of our Cathedral kirk, My Lord of Aberdenis palace, our maisters the Canons, and the families and dwellings of the people.”

The “ auld ennemies ” failing to present themselves, the Council turned its attention to the county barons, who had gone a little further than was permitted, even in those wild times. As honorary burgesses of the town, they seem to have considered themselves entitled to a voice—an over-strong one, since it was liable to be backed up by armed force—in its affairs. The election of the Provost, they were apt to think, called especially for their intervention, and in the November of 1525 “ Alexander Setoun of Meldrum, John Leslie of Wardes, William Leslie of Balquhain, Alexander Leslie of that Ilk and their complices, to the number of eighty spears or thereby, at the solicitation of John Collisoune, an inhabitant and a burgess, attacked the town under silence of night, and

slew and wounded a considerable number of citizens." What the dispute was about is not quite clear, but John Collison, who had been Provost and had not been re-elected, was probably sore at his defeat. "He was a proud and ambitious man, this John Collisoune," says an entry in the Book of Statutes, "and it is to remember that he had the Laird of Drum's brother to his son-in-law, and Balquhain and Wardes to his wyffis sonnes, and Meldrum to his wyffis brother." The relationship is rather complicated.

There was at this time a feud between the town and "the gentlemen of the name of Forbes," who had been engaged in "convoking the King's lieges," and doing "great damage, skaith, and crewel and heavy oppresione to the Provost and sundry citizens." In July 1530 it was ordained by the Council that "gif it should happen that the Lord Forbes or his friends to come to the town with convocation of the King's lieges in any great number other than their daily train," the common bell should be rung, "there incontinent, and all the neigh-

bours convene and stop them to have entrance."

It had already been ordained in 1522 that "each dweller in the town should wear daily his own weapon on his own person," and that every craftsman was to have his weapon in his booth or shop, and immediately, on the first sign of "a tussle on the streets," was to "truss it into his hand" and issue forth to join in the fray. Nor did the Council show any sympathy for the peaceable citizen who preferred on these occasions a quiet corner behind closed doors; all who absented themselves when a disturbance was going on were to be "deprived of freedom for ever."

The feud with the Forbeses reached its height when "the hail town declarit in ane voice that there should be no longer a pension given to the Lord Forbes for the keeping of their waters." The King had at last been appealed to, and "the gentlemen of the name of Forbes"—their names fill a page of the *Book of Records*—were obliged to give surety that the Burgh of Aberdeen should be "blameless and skaithless" of them in time to come, "under the pane of 5000

pounds." The citizens could now dwell in peace, temporarily at least, and the Forbeses were reinstated in the favour of the Council.

A favourite occupation of the young men of the time seems to have been "strubling the watch." As one reads the old records the vision arises of an old soldier of uncertain temper rising without fail to the tormenting of mischievous youth. The Council, however, seems to have shown a paternal sympathy towards the "watch," although on one occasion, when summoned to declare before the Provost in what the alleged "strubling" of a certain Henry Levingston consisted, the good man allowed that he could not exactly say what *had* been done to him.

An honest and Christian way, too, had the Council of settling a private quarrel. The "strubance and debates" between a certain William Watt and Thomas Quelp, burgesses, having resulted in the drawing of blood, it was ordained that "the said Thomas shall first sit down on his knee, and take the naked knife that he hurt the said William with in his hands,

and openly know that he has offended til him, and deliver him the said knife to do with it what he will . . . and to pray the said William, for the love of God to heartfully forgive him." This done, Thomas was to pay a fine and to promise to keep the peace thereafter.

Among the Burgh laws of Scotland we find the following ordinance: "If any man strikes another wherethrough he is made blaa and bloody, he that is made blaa and bloody shall first be heard, whether he comes first to complain or not. . . . And if that both be blaa and bloody, he that first complains, him shall be heard."

Rebellious burgesses were dealt with summarily: "If any burgess be rebellious against the community of the burgh, or have done any fraud and upon that be convicted, his house shall be stricken to the earth, and he himself put out of the town."

Executions followed sometimes promptly on the crime, as we see by the law about murderers and thieves caught in the act. "If a thief be taken with the fang (stolen goods), or a man-

slayer with redhand, and this be in burgh, they who hold in baronie within burgh shall rise at the suit of the complainer, and incontinent do full justice on the person of the evil doer, by day or by night. For in such case, they shall be reputed for barons."

In the grant of a hostelage at Stirling we find the picture of a better-class lodging in the fourteenth century. There was a dining hall with tables and trestles and other necessary furniture ; a " spence " with a buttery, one or more chambers for sleeping ; a kitchen and a stable capable of holding thirty horses. They burned candles of white tallow, commonly called Paris candles. The hall and the bed-chambers were strewed with rushes, straw being apparently used for bedding.

The absence of sanitary arrangements considered, it is not surprising that the plague was a frequent visitor. The Town Records continually note a visitation of the " pest." In 1539 we find rules set forth regarding " the trublous passages now being presently within this realme, through occasioun of the contagious infeckand

pest.” No indweller within the town was “to house nor harbour no mannere of strangere or vagabound, without license and leave askit and obtainit of the Provost and Baillies.”

A practice of devotion sometimes imposed by the Church as a penance was to go in pilgrimage to some holy place. Among the Burgh laws of Scotland we find several allusions to this custom, all tending to protect the pilgrim until his return. “It is for to wit that if a man challenged of his land be passed in pilgrimage, or on his errands beyond the sea, before the party adversar show the king’s letters in court, he has to bide till he come hame unless he holds him away fraudfully. And if he so does he shall abide him xl days of law and reason, and forsooth no longer.”

“Gif ony man of the king’s burgh be passed in pilgrimage with leave of the kirk and of his neighbours, in the haly lande, or to any other haly stede for the heal of his soul, his house and his menye (*servants*) shall be in our lord the king’s peace and the baillies’ until the time that God brings him hame again.”

Of the lighting—or the non-lighting—of the streets we can gather some idea from an ordinance of the Town Council of Edinburgh in November 1554. “For the eschewing of the evil doings of the vagabonds and others,” it runs, “who go in the burgh on the night, stealing and robbing within the same, there shall be nightly, from this day forth till the 24th of February, lanterns and bowets set out and lighted at five o’clock in the evening, and to burn till nine: by the following persons: each barber on the high gait, each candlemaker, each apothecary, each taverner, each baker and each common cook on the high gait to have a lantern or bowet burning in front of their shops or houses, during the said hours, and likewise each brewer in the closes and outwith should furnish a bowet; and also that all the persons dwelling in closes must furnish bowets night about, as shall be ordered by the Baillies, under a fine of two shillings.”

The chief amusements of the time were foot and hand ball, that “playing at the ba’” at which the “bonny Earl of Moray” was an adept.

Golf was so popular a pastime that it was prohibited by a statute of James I., lest it should interfere with the weapon schawings held twice a year in every county. In Strathdon the chief amusement at Yuletide was curling, introduced by Flemish immigrants towards the end of the fifteenth century. Riding at the ring—another accomplishment of the “bonny Earl of Moray,” consisted in carrying off on the point of a long staff or spear a small ring suspended between two perpendicular posts, accomplished when the rider was at full gallop. This was a pastime chiefly confined to the upper classes.

Sir Francis Knollys remarked that when Queen Mary was at Carlisle, after her flight from Langside, “about twenty of her retinue played at football before her the space of two hours, very strongly, nimbly and skilfully, without any foul play offered.” Their play struck him as much superior to anything he had seen.

Hawking seems to have been as popular a sport in the North as it was elsewhere at the time. “Your servant, Maister Alexander

Forbes, saw how I was scornit with herons at my own place of Douglas, and had no hawks for them," writes the Earl of Angus to Lord Forbes in 1528. "Pray you remember the hawk, and send her with ane servant of your own to Edinburgh."*

"Horses they have in plenty," says Major,† "and these show a great power of endurance both of work and cold. At Saint John (Perth) and Dundee a Highland Scot will bring down two hundred horses unbroken, that have never been mounted. For two francs, or fifty duodenæ, you shall have one ready broken. They are brought up alongside of their dams in the forests and the fold, and are thus fitted to stand all severities of weather. They are of no great size, and are thus not fitted to carry a man in heavy armour to the wars, but a light-armed man may ride them at any speed where he will. More hardy horses of so small a size you shall nowhere find."

Allusion is made in the Records of the city of

* *Antiquities of Shires of Aberdeen and Banff.*

† *History of Scotland*, 1526, John Major.

Aberdeen to the custom "observit in this burgh heretofore in all ages" of giving an entertainment to strangers of distinction. When, however, the entertainment was given not to a distinguished stranger, but to royalty itself, the Aberdonians seem to have surpassed themselves. The preparations made for the visit of Margaret Tudor, Queen of James IV., in 1512, were comprehensive and far reaching.

In the first place, the bellman was to pass "through the haill toun" and command and charge all manner of persons to clean the road before their own gates and doors,* the "clenging and redding" to be accomplished "betwix this and Sunday, under the pane of forty pounds Scots unforgiven." The bellman played a large part in mediæval city life, as did the town piper, both officers being of remote institution. The town minstrels, who depended on the hospitality of the citizens for their living, had to pass through "all the rewis and streittis of the guid toun at five hours in the morning," so that the townsmen "might rise to their labouris,"

* *Antiquities of Shires of Aberdeen and Banff.*

and “betwix aught and nyn at even.” The good old custom, “Early to bed and early to rise,” was evidently followed.

But to return to the Queen’s visit. Further details as to “clenging and redding” give an unpleasant impression of the condition of mediæval streets. “Vagrant swine”—as ubiquitous apparently in those days as the modern dog—were to be removed under penalty of confiscation and a fine of eight pounds Scot, unforgiven. All manner of persons “that brings any barkis, holly, gryss, or ony other green flouris” was to have common passage, “and free money and ready silver for the same.” These evergreens were for the decorating of the forestairs, wooden staircases which led up outside the houses to the balcony from which the mediæval citizen was wont to discuss matters of interest with his neighbours across the narrow street.

These preliminary preparations having been made, the “haill town in ane voice” freely consented to receive “our sovereign Lady, the queyne, as honourable as any burgh of Scotland, and to mak as large expenses thereupon, for the

honour of the city, as the Provost and the Council devise."

That this programme was well carried out can be seen from the vivid description of the proceedings in the poem of Dunbar, written expressly for the occasion, and which gives a fair picture of " Blythe Aberdeen, the beryl of all towns, the lamp of beauty, bounty and blythness."

First there came out to meet the Queen four burgesses, " young, able and lustie," richly arrayed in gowns of velvet, whose privilege it was to carry the canopy of crimson over Her Majesty's head, " as the custom has been." A procession received her at the entry of the city, in which were represented as in a moving picture or pageant, various scenes from Holy Writ. First came " the honorabille salutation of the sweitt Virgin "; the " Orient Kings three " were then seen offering to Christ " with benign reverence and all humilitie " gold, frankincense and myrrh, after which the " Angel put forth of the joy of Paradise " Adam and Eve. Four-and-twenty maidens " of marvellous bewtie "

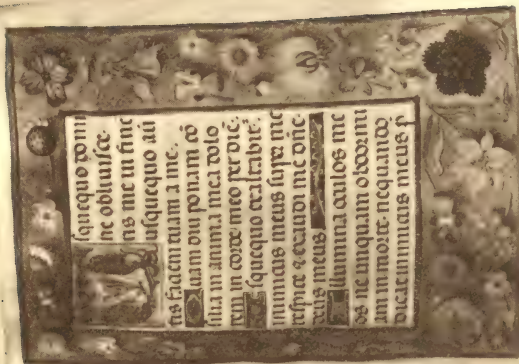
then appeared, with hair like “ threiddis of gold ” hanging on their shoulders. They played on timbrels and sang “ rycht sweitlie ” :—

“ Welcome our Queen ! the commons gaif ane shout
Her for to treat they sett their haill ingyne
Ane rich present they did till her propine
Ane costlie coup.”

“ This noble town did nocht spare—their gear, riches, substance and persoun,” concludes Dunbar with admiration. The “ noble town,” indeed, was exceedingly proud of itself, and who could blame it ? Had not the poet called it “ the beryl of all touns, renowned for vertue, wisdom and worthiness ” ?

A description of Scotland and its people, written about this time by Don Pedro de Ayala, Spanish Ambassador at the Court of James IV., gives us some idea of the country as seen from outside :—

“ The people are handsome. They like foreigners so much that they dispute with one another as to who shall have and treat a foreigner in his house. They are vain and ostentatious by nature. They spend all they have to keep up appearances. They are as well



FACSIMILE OF PAGES FROM THE "ABERDEEN BOOK OF HOURS," 1499.

dressed as it is possible to be in such a country as that in which they live. They are courageous, strong, quick and agile. Their abbeyes are very magnificent, the buildings fine, and the revenues great ; all of them were founded by kings. The prelates are very much revered ; they have the larger share in the government. Spiritual as well as secular lords, if they have a title or a dignity, belong to the general Council. It meets four times a year in order to administer justice. It is a very good institution. The women are courteous in the extreme. I mention this because they are really honest, though very bold. They are absolute mistresses of their households, and even of their husbands, in all things concerning the administration of their property, income as well as expenditure. They dress much better than here [he was writing from England], and especially as regards the head-dress, which is, I think, the handsomest in the world. The towns and villages are populous ; the houses are all good, all built of hewn stone, and provided with excellent doors, glass windows, and a great number of chimneys. All

the furniture that is used in Italy, France and Spain is to be found in their dwellings. It has not been bought in modern times only, but inherited from preceding ages."

A Frenchman, Jean de Beaugué, wrote in 1548: "Aberdeen is a rich and handsome town, inhabited by an excellent people, and is situated on the sea-shore. It has not a good roadstead, but its harbour is very safe and easy for ships to make, were it not for the entrance, which is very narrow. It is easy to fortify, since it is shut in on two sides by the rivers Dee and Don, both of which are difficult to ford. Aberdeen has an episcopal see and a university sufficiently well ordered and equipped."

In an enumeration of the articles of dress worn by a lady of this time, we find, among the ruffs, "hudes," kirtles and farthingales, "ane pow of black velvet, with braid silver burde head pendice, with four schethis." Can this be the fascinating head-dress which so took the fancy of the Spanish Ambassador? The armour of a citizen of distinction consisted of the knapsaw, a spear, two-handed sword, bow and quiver of

arrows, and not infrequently he kept his horse, "equipped with saddle and bridle, either for warfare or ordinary occasions."*

In 1447 certain ordinances were issued against over-sumptuous clothing, both of men and women, and particularly in burghs. No man within the burgh, except he were "a person in dignitie, as alderman, baillie, or other good worthy man of the council of the town," was to wear "clothes of silk nor costly scarlet, nor furrings of marten." Their wives and daughters, likewise, were to be "dressed fitly and corresponding to their estate—that is to say, on the head short kerchiefs with little hoods, as are used in France, England and other countries." No woman was to wear martens nor grey fur, nor "tails" to their gowns "of unbecoming magnitude, and furred under," except on holidays. No labourers or husbandmen were to wear anything on working days but grey and white, and even on holidays only light blue or green or red; the same applied to their wives, and was not a very severe restriction. The

* *Annals of Aberdeen*, Kennedy.

stuff was not to exceed the price of “xl d. per ell,” and the women were to wear kerchiefs of their own making, with which their faces were to be veiled or muffled at kirk and market. No clerics were to wear gowns of scarlet or furring of martens, except he were “a person constituted in dignity in cathedral or college kirk.” The penalty for breaking this law was “escheat of the habit.”

In a list of “heirship moveables,” belonging to a burghess of Guild in Aberdeen, we find :—

“A signet of gold, a gown of English russet, begarded with broad bands of velvet, a new doublet of purple velvet, with teslaittis [tassels (?)], a Hogtown coat of fine French cloth, a cloak of Spanish frieze, a new black bonnet, a pair of hose of French black, lyned with taffet, a linen shirt, a skin coat of basene leather.” To modern ideas one shirt seems, to say the least, inadequate, and one wonders how washing day was negotiated. Perhaps the linen shirt was something particularly choice, and there were commoner ones in the background not worth cataloguing.

In 1479 the first step was taken towards the systematic cleaning of the streets, an individual of the name of Alexander Coutts being appointed public scavenger, and allowed one penny yearly from each fire-station for repairing the streets and keeping them clean. He seems to have been quite content with his emoluments.

CHAPTER III

THE RELIGION OF OUR FOREFATHERS

As we study the Records of the town of Aberdeen we cannot but be profoundly impressed by the fact that the religion of our forefathers was a living Faith, which entered into almost every action of their lives. There were wild outbreaks of human passion ; there were lapses from the Law of God and the law of man ; there were, as there always have been in the history of the human race, dark crimes and shameful actions, but to saints and sinners alike, religion was a part and parcel of their lives, singularly adapted to the aspirations, the needs and weaknesses of mankind.

“ St Nicholas’ Church,” says the author of the *County History of Aberdeen and Banff*, “ was the visible representation of the religion, the patriotism, the wealth and the taste of the burgesses. The materials used in building it

were procured from distant places at heavy cost ; lime for use of the masons was specially brought from Dysart ; and lead for covering the roof was purchased in England at a cost of four and a half lasts of salmon." In 1477, Bishop Spens having offered his second tithes towards the building of the choir, the Council and community immediately added the donation of " all fees of the Alderman or Provost, baillies, etc., the surplus revenue of the common good, and all other profits that might accrue for seven years, and more if need be, until the choir were fully built and complete." Nor was this considered sufficient, for generous individual contributions were made by many of the citizens.

St Nicholas was constituted as a collegiate Church, " than which, perhaps, nothing better has ever been devised for meeting the varied spiritual needs of a town."* Its numerous side chapels and altars had been founded at different times by pious citizens, the first recorded being that of St John the Evangelist, founded towards the end of the thirteenth century by Richard,

* *Charters of the Church of St Nicholas*, " Editor's Preface."

a mason of the town. That of St James the Apostle was founded in 1340 by the Laird of Foveran ; that of the Holy Cross in 1356 by Alexander Williamson, a burghess—these are but a few instances. Gifts of sacred books, vessels for the altar, vestments and statues, are recorded in great numbers, including a silver chalice, set with precious stones, presented by Christina de Bruce, sister of King Robert. In 1350 Thomas Mersere, burghess, gave a tabernacle for the Blessed Sacrament to the altar of St Nicholas. Foundations of several other altars followed, and in 1498 Provost Alexander Menzies, in honour of the dedication of the Church by Bishop Elphinstone, founded a lamp “ hanging at the High Altar before the venerable Sacrament to remain burning in all time coming, night and day, for his soul and the souls of his parents, predecessors and successors.” An ardent devotion to the central doctrine of the Catholic Church seems to have been a characteristic of the citizens of Aberdeen ; men who adored their God incarnate in the swaddling clothes of the Babe of Bethlehem found no

difficulty in adoring Him in the strait whiteness of the sacred Host.

The gilt and silver chalices, set with precious stones, the brodered veils and altar-cloths, the silken vestments, the wrought cruets and candlesticks which fill the pages of the book of the *Charters of the Church of St Nicholas*, all centred round that devotion to the "venerable Sacrament" which made the Church to the pre-Reformation worshipper what it is still to every Catholic throughout the world, the very "House of God and Gate of Heaven." The almost invariable opening words of the Charters: "For the Honour of Almighty God, the Most Blessed Virgin Mary and all the Saints," show the chief motive of the gifts; the good of the donor's soul came second. "The Holy Eucharist was the keystone of the social fabric, and created unity in a society in which many natural causes were at work to cause division and to sever race from race and class from class. It was the Blessed Eucharist that presided in the family circle at the various epochs of the life of each, whether of joy or sorrow. It sancti-

fied childhood at the first Communion. It blessed the marriage bond at the nuptial Mass. It strengthened the mother before the agonies of childbirth, and sanctified her joy when her pains were over. It comforted the dying with the Holy Viaticum. It consoled and gave hope at the Requiem to the mourner in his bereavement. It marked rest from labour for the toiling. It gave the note of joy and gladness to the festival and the holiday, and it sweetly chastened the season for penance.”* “The Mass was felt and known to be,” says Jessop, “the one great and precious mystery which every devout Catholic clung to with unspeakable awe and fervour, and to rob him of that was to rob him of the one thing on which his religious life depended.”

An extract from a poem of the period, “How the Gudewife ‘Taught Her Daughter,” shows another glimpse of this spirit. She was to—

“Be of good prayer when she may,
And hear Mass on the holy day.
For meikle grace comis of praying
And bringis men aye to good ending.”

* *History of the Catholic Church in England*, Carpenter.

The conviction that “meikle grace comis of praying” was the secret of the good ending of many a stormy life in the wild days of old.

The magistrates and Town Council were patrons of most of the chantries, many of the citizens had their own altars, dedicated to particular saints, and the fabric of the Church was supported by taxes upon the community at large. These taxes, be it observed, were imposed, not by the Church, but by the Town Council, and were apparently cheerfully paid by the citizens.

Chantries—altars endowed for the celebration of Requiem Masses for the souls of departed Christians—were of very ancient institution, and, judging from the list of chantries and obits in the *Charters of the Church of St Nicholas*, founded by men and women of every rank in life, this pious custom was in great vogue in Aberdeen.

“Enthusiasm in the days of popery,” says Kennedy,* “had rendered all ranks of the people liberal to the Church. This ecclesiastical insti-

* *Annals of Aberdeen.*

tution (the Church of St Nicholas) was supported by the administrators of the town and by the people, who made the curate and chaplains many pious donations, to which they seem to have been actuated by religious motives." Let the " days of popery " speak for themselves.

" As the woman, the wife of Adam, was formed from the side of man," says a mediæval writer in the Chartulary of St Nicholas, prefacing a list of benefactors of the church, " so is Holy Church, our bountiful mother, the bride of Christ, from the sacraments which have flowed out from the wounded side of Christ as He slept upon the Cross—the water and the Blood by which we are redeemed from punishment and washed from sin. Therefore, brethren, let us labour that, by the key of good works, we may be able to open for ourselves the door of the heavenly kingdom, forasmuch as by wicked works, as by so many bolts and bars, the door of life is shut against us. . . . Let us then sow the seed of good works while yet there is time according to the Apostle's saying: ' He that soweth sparingly shall reap sparingly.' . . .

Faithfully and rightly do Christian people cherish the Church, our spiritual mother, since they recognise that they are the sons of the Church ; and worthy is the Church of being cherished, the mother whom they know and believe to have regenerated them by the Spirit unto life. . . . A virgin, she beareth us not with pain of body, but amid the joy of angels ; a virgin, she nourisheth us not with the milk of the body, but with the Catholic Faith—our bountiful Mother Church ; a virgin, she is the mother of nations by her Sacraments. . . . Her sons, therefore, prompted by the good Spirit to works of love, have from of old adorned the face of our holy Mother Church with vestments woven of gold and silver and of silk—with images, with chalices shining with precious gems, with manuscripts, with bells and other instruments of Divine service, and suitable for the ministering thereof. And they have dedicated—that is, they have sacrificed—an altar to the Lord with all honour, in the odour of a sweet smell, with whole burnt-offerings, with sacrifices, with Masses, tithes, first-fruits ; and with the

spiritual oblations of fastings, and prayers and hymns, and confessions and sweet songs, they were wont to bless the Lord. . . . There were many venerable men in the times before us, who, led by great devotion in honour of Almighty God, of the holy Virgin Mary, of the most blessed Confessor Nicholas, our patron, and of all the saints of God, decorated and adorned our spiritual mother the Parish Church of Aberdene, with many benefactions and holy works. From their good work and their devotion those who are to come may take example, and glorify our God, Who is in the Heavens, by Whom all things were made."

Of all the municipal institutions of the Middle Ages, perhaps that of the Guilds was the most beneficent, and here again religion played an important part. "Socialistic they were," says Gasquet, "but their socialism, so far from being adverse to religion, as the socialism of to-day is generally considered to be, was transfused and directed by a deeply religious spirit, carried out into the duties of life, and manifesting itself in practical charities of every kind. . . . Their

working is worth studying by those who are interested in the social problems of to-day. There was no working class, in our modern sense, in the Middle Ages, if by that is meant a class the greater portion of which never rises. In the fourteenth century a few years of steady work as a journeyman meant, in most cases, that a workman was able to set up as a master craftsman. Every hard-working apprentice expected, as a matter of course, to become in time a master. The collisions between capital and labour, to which we are so much accustomed, had no place in the Middle Ages. There was no such gulf between master and man as exists in our days. If we desire to institute a comparison between the status of the working classes in the fourteenth century and to-day, the comparison must be between the workman we know and the old master craftsman. The shopkeeping class and the middleman were only just beginning to exist. The producer and consumer stood in close relation, and the public control was exercised fully, as the craft guilds were subject to the supervision and direction of the

municipal or central authority of the cities in which they existed.”*

“The Guilds were lay bodies,” says Toulmin Smith—an authority on this subject—“and existed for lay purposes, and the better to enable those who belonged to them rightly and understandingly to fulfil their neighbourly duties as free men in a free state.”

Yet though the Guilds were for the most part undoubtedly lay bodies, they were permeated by religious spirit. “In these days,” says Gasquet, “most of the objects to promote which they existed would be called social duties, but they were then regarded as true objects of Christian charity. Mutual assistance, the aid of the poor, of the helpless, of the sick, of strangers or pilgrims and prisoners, the burial of the dead, even the keeping of schools and schoolmasters and other such like works were held to be exercises of religion. The Guilds were institutions of self-help, which before the poor laws were invented, took the place of the modern

* *The Eve of the Reformation*. The author is speaking here of English Guilds, but what he says applies equally well to those of Scotland.

friendly or benefit society, but with a higher aim ; while they joined all classes together in the care of the needy and for objects of common welfare, they did not neglect the forms and practice of religion, justice and morality.”*

“ Guild life,” says Bain,† “ was intimately associated with the religious, the social, the inner and common life of the people. They all sprang from one common instinct of men seeking strength by union and combination. As civilisation developed, they adapted themselves to its continual and progressive march. In pre-Reformation times, in Merchant and Craft Guilds alike, the religious element is a strongly marked feature of their constitution. Every Guild had its patron saint, its ordinances for religious observances, attendance at Mass binding, and in larger Guilds a regularly appointed chaplain to officiate at stated meetings, and look after the spiritual needs of members and their families.”

The oath of a burgess and Guild brother was

* *The Eve of the Reformation.*

† *Merchant and Craft Guilds*, Bain.

a solemn thing. He had to swear "that he will be leal and faithful to our Lord the King and to the community of that burgh in which he is made burgess. And that he will give to the King faithfully rent for the land which he defends. And that he will be obedient in things lawful to the provost and the baillies. And that he will keep the secret counsel of the community. And if anything to their prejudice shall come to his knowledge, he will forewarn them, or apply a remedy if he can. And that as often as he shall be asked he will give them faithful counsel and assistance in the common business to his power. And that he will maintain the liberties, laws, and customs of the said burgh during his life according to his power.

"And the oath being made in this manner, he ought to kiss the provost and the brethren, if he be a brother of the Guild."

Although the primary object of the merchant Guilds was the protection of trading privileges, the making of provision for old age, for dependants, and for poorer brethren was a prominent characteristic. The members helped each other

in sickness, in poverty, in infirmity, and in preserving the morals of the community.

“In some form or other,” says Gasquet, “provision for the assistance of needy members is repeated in the statute of almost every guild. Loans are furnished from the common fund to enable brethren to tide over temporary difficulties. Some extend their charity to relieve distress beyond the circle of the brotherhood, of ‘all whosoever falls into distress, poverty, lameness, blindness . . . even if he be a thief proven, he shall have seven pence a week from the brothers and sisters, to assist him in his need.’” This gave a chance to the “thief proven,” who may have fallen into dishonesty through want, to turn over a new leaf and live honestly.

“It is curious,” says the same writer, “to find in the guild records of 400 years ago so many of the principles set down as established, for which in our days trades unions and similar societies are contending.”

“The Craft Guilds,” says Bain, “probably existed as far back as the twelfth century, but

it is not until well into the fifteenth that public records give direct information. Masters of Crafts, or Deacons, were general in all the leading burghs of Scotland about 1424."

The distinction between the privileges of merchant burgesses and craftsmen arose gradually, the word "burgess" being originally used to designate any one who held land or property within the boundaries of a town or village. When the development of manufactures caused an increase in the number of craftsmen, these began to organise on their own account, and to form their own Guilds. In 1427 the appointment of Guild Masters, or Heads of Craft, in Aberdeen was vested in the Town Council. Between the Merchant and the Craft Guilds all commercial matters were clearly defined. Wages were regulated, the price of manufactured goods, from a penny loaf to a salmon barrel, fixed, the number of journeymen and apprentices strictly limited, and the quality of the work inspected. All these matters were subject to the control of the local authority and the Craft Associations acting under Royal

Charters, Acts of Parliament, and Acts of Council. Early in the sixteenth century it became common for the magistrates to grant Seals of Cause to the different bodies of craftsmen, under which Charters the Masters or Deacons of the crafts were granted "full, plain and free powers, express jurisdiction and authority to correct, punish and amend all manner of crimes, trespasses and faults of the said crafts—blood and debt excepted." After being duly warned, the delinquent was threatened with the loss of his freedom and trading privileges if he did not amend his ways—a threat which seldom failed in its effect. The Deacons seem to have exercised their authority firmly and efficiently.

"With the growth of the burghs, from the twelfth century onwards," says Edgar,* "the various crafts, as well as the merchants, formed themselves into guilds, which, in addition to their other functions, became the means of promoting what may be called technical education. Practically the only way of admission

* *History of Early Education in Scotland.*

into one of these crafts was by serving an apprenticeship, and thus the commonest, if the most rudimentary form of technical instruction, dates back to a very early period. Apprenticeship is by eminent local authorities shown to have been primarily a contract to teach and to learn a certain handicraft. The master bound himself to teach the art or manufacture to the lad entrusted to his care, and for several years the young craftsman of each generation went through a course of practical education sufficient to make him master of his craft as far as it had been developed at the time. There were inspectors appointed by the different crafts to see that the work done by the members of the guild was honest work, and worthy of the dignity of the corporation. From time to time the arts and manufactures of other peoples were introduced from foreign countries by immigrants, who had either taken refuge in Scotland or had been brought over from the continent for the purpose of instructing the community."

A singular regulation in the Guild of Berwick provided that in the case of a brother in poor

circumstances leaving a daughter unprovided for, the Guild should supply her with a husband, or enable her to enter a religious house at her pleasure. Poor brethren were to be buried with decency, according to the rites of the Church ; and if any brother, being in the town, neglected to come to the funeral, he was to be fined. When any matter required the advice of the brotherhood, a little bell was first rung through the town, and then the great bell in the bell-house was tolled thrice, with a reasonable interval, and any one failing to attend was fined twelve pennies.*

The Guilds were encouraged by the Popes, who granted them special privileges. The eagerness shown by kings and nobles to be received into them indicates the power of the fraternities. " It was they who made the burgess feel himself a limb of the Church, that brought the Church to sit at his fireside and made her a partner in all his enterprises."†

Honorary burgess-ship in Aberdeen was con-

* *Ancient Laws and Customs of the Burghs of Scotland*, S.B.R.S.

† *Mediæval Scotland*, Cochran Patrick.

ferred as a special favour on distinguished visitors to the city, or on members of the Northern nobility, who sometimes took undue advantage of this privilege at municipal elections. The aristocratic element of the town became further strengthened by the admission of the sons and kinsmen of the county gentry to the Guild freedom.*

In 1439 Sir Robert of Erskine, Earl of Mar and Lord of Erskine, was admitted a free burgess and Guild brother of the Burgh of Aberdeen, free of the oath of scot and lot, watch and ward.†

From the "Taill of the Uplandis (country) mous, and the Burges (town) mous" of the fifteenth-century poet, Robert Henryson, we can gather a good deal of information about the social life of his time. The town mouse is described as a "gild brother" and a "free burgess," while the country mouse goes "bare-foot and with pikestaff in hand, as pure pilgrim."

There were seven separate Craft Guilds in

* *County History of Aberdeen and Banff*, Watt.

† *Antiquities of Aberdeen*, Robertson.

Aberdeen: the Hammermen, which included every craft in which the hammer played a prominent part, such as the gold- and silver-smiths; Bakers; Wrights and Coopers; Tailors; Shoemakers; Weavers; and Fleshers. These societies included every branch of handicraft. The Dyers, Masons and Leechers (barber-surgeons) formed separate societies, possessing kindred constitutions. "The Masons," says Bain, "had nothing to do with the Freemasonry into which the society developed in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries."

The Guilds were largely responsible for the miracle and mystery plays which, represented at the different seasons of the year, covered the chief events of both the Old and the New Testament. "They told what were held to be the essential of the Scripture story from the creation of man to the day of judgment. In this country the taste for miracle plays was blended with the desire to diffuse, as far as possible, a knowledge of religious truth, and therefore the sets of plays, acted by our town guilds, placed in the streets, as completely as might be, a

living picture-Bible before the eyes of all the people.”*

“Pageants, religious ceremonials, and miracle plays,” says Bain, “constituted nearly all that the artisan classes of the early period had in the way of instruction, either in religion or literature, recreation and social intercourse. . . . Much though these performances have been condemned by modern writers, it ought to be borne in mind that in giving them countenance the ecclesiastical authorities of the Roman Catholic Church encouraged them mainly as a means of impressing upon an ignorant people the fundamental truths of Christianity.”†

That they did more than this—that, when reverently carried out, they were calculated to awaken both piety and devotion in the hearts of the people—no one who has seen the Passion Play of Ober-Ammergau will deny. This, the sole survival in our times of the mediæval Miracle Play, acted by poor peasants in an obscure village of the Tyrol, draws an audience

* *Merchant and Craft Guilds*, Bain.

† *Ibid.*

of cultured men and women from all parts of Europe, not to mention America, who, if they come to scoff, remain to pray.

“Many of the old plays are still extant, and the more we examine them,” says Gasquet, “the more clear it becomes that, although undoubtedly unlearned and unread, the people in pre-Reformation days, with instruction such as is conveyed in these pious dramas, must have had a deeper insight into the Gospel narrative, and a more thorough knowledge of Bible history generally, not to speak of the truths of religion, than the majority of men possess now in these days of boasted enlightenment.”

The only play recorded by name in the history of Aberdeen is that of the “Haly Blude,” performed on the Windmill Hill in 1440, probably in Passion Week. In 1479 a similar play was performed on the Feast of Corpus Christi. In an entry in the Council register of the Burgh of Aberdeen we find the following passage:—

“The said day, 30th January 1505, it was fundin by the old lovable consuetude and right of the burgh, that, in honour of God and the

Blessed Virgin Mary, the craftsmen of the same, in their best array, keepit and decorit the procession on Candlemas Day yearly. Which old and lovable consuetude the Provost, baillies, ripely avisit, satisfied and approved the said right, and atour statuted and ordained that the said craftsmen and their successors shall perpetually in time to come, observe and keep the said procession as honourably as they can. And they shall, in order to the offering of the play, pass two and two together socially." Then follows the order of the crafts in procession, and the different pageant with its gear that each one is to furnish.

On the 22nd of May 1531 we find orders issued anent the procession for Corpus Christi, with its different plays or pageants which are to be provided, with all accessories, by the several Craft Guilds, each one presenting a scene from Scripture history or the Lives of the Saints and Martyrs.

When King James V. and his Queen, Mary of Guise, visited Aberdeen and stayed for fifteen days at the New College founded by Bishop

Elphinstone, John Leslie, afterwards Bishop of Ross, who was on the University Staff at the time, tells us that "they were received with diverse playes, maid be the toun." These were probably some of the old miracle or mystery plays acted by the different Craft Guilds.

But the Mystery Plays touch on the subject of education, which deserves a chapter to itself.

CHAPTER IV

EARLY EDUCATION IN THE NORTH

KING JAMES IV., in his letter to the Pope asking for the institution of a University at Aberdeen, describes the inhabitants of the Highlands and the North of Scotland as “ignorant of letters and almost uncivilised.” The King was undoubtedly touching up his picture in order more surely to enlist the Pope’s sympathies. “It would be a great mistake,” says Grant,* “to suppose that Aberdeenshire and the eastern coasts of Scotland were as barbarous as this papal erection would lead us to suppose. Barbour did not write ‘The Brus’ for people altogether uncivilised and ignorant of letters.”

Although the new University was instituted to provide for the education of the people of the Highlands and the Isles, cut off, to a certain

* *Burgh Schools of Scotland.*

extent by geographical accidents, as well as by differences of race, from their brethren of the south, the east coast with its surrounding districts could not be included in the description, "ignorant and uncivilised." Towns, built wherever a river's mouth afforded a safe harbour for ships, had arisen, to become in course of time thriving communities, which kept up a lively trade with Flanders, Holland and Normandy. Hides and wool, salmon and herring, abundant in the north and east, were exchanged for the cloth of Flanders, the wines of France, ornaments for women, and arms for men. Most of these towns had a Grammar School, or Song School, or both, which, as we shall see, provided a fair education, according to the canons of the time, to those who chose to avail themselves of it. That in Aberdeen such schools were well established before the middle of the thirteenth century, can be proved from a statute of 1256, stating that it is the duty of the Chancellor of the Cathedral to supply a capable master to have the management of the schools, and to teach the boys both grammar and logic.

Seven years later, in the Register of the Abbey of Aberbrothoc, we find Master Thomas of Bennam describing himself as “Rector scholarum de Aberdeen,” while in 1418 a schoolmaster of Aberdeen, “Magister Scholarum burgi de Aberdene,” presented by the Alderman and community, was certified by the Chancellor to be “of good life, honest conversation, great literature and science, and a graduate in Arts.”*

“Under the wing of the Cathedral Church,” says Edgar,† “grew up the famous Grammar School of Aberdeen, which, by its long succession of famous scholars and teachers, has played an important part in our national education.”

Even in the outlying districts of the North, although book-learning, owing to the scarcity of books, was rare, the minds of the people were not altogether uncultivated. The wandering minstrel or bard, a welcome guest in every homestead or castle, sang the national ballads and told the brave tales of old in rush-strewn hall or ladies’ bower. “The people of Scotland,”

* *Burgh Records of Aberdeen.*

† *History of Early Education in Scotland.*

says the same writer,* “ even though the bulk of them may not have enjoyed much school education, became acquainted, through their minstrels and poets, with the heroic stories of Greece and Rome, the achievement of Arthur and his knights, and some of the brave deeds and courtesies of Charlemagne and his peers. And the priest too was aided by the minstrel in bringing to the knowledge of his flock the striking tales of Hebrew literature. The Mediæval Church was not only a great religious and social, but also a great educational power. Both its secular and its monastic, or regular Orders, during the most healthy and vigorous period of their existence, interested themselves in the work of instructing the young. The Church covered with its sacred mantle all kinds of learning, and for centuries there were no schools outside of its influence. It has been a common, though mistaken, belief that primary education in Europe dates only from the Reformation. It is beyond dispute that the parish schools of the Mediæval Church offered

* *History of Early Education in Scotland.*

at least the rudiments of religion and letters to the children of both rural and town districts."

In Aberdeen, as in most cathedral towns, the "Sang Schule" was a prominent feature. "Manners and vertew," and, incidentally, a good deal of Latin, were taught, as well as music, in these establishments. Although primarily meant for the education of boys intended for the choir or for the Church, provision was also made for those who were to join the ranks of the laity. Robert Huchison, songster, obliges himself in a contract still extant, to "remain all the days of his life with the community of the burgh of Aberdeen, singing, keeping and upholding Mass, Matins, Evensongs, completories, psalms, responses, antiphons and hymns in the Parish Kirk on festival days." The master of the "Sang Schule" had also to instruct "burgesses' sons in singing and playing on the organs, for the upholding of God's service in the choir, they paying him his scholage and dues." In 1551, only nine years before the Reformation, a pension was granted by the Council to a priest,

“ our lovit servitor, Sir John Black, chorister in the choir of the parish kirk of Aberdeen, master of the sang Schule,” mentioning the “ diligent care and labours taken by him in the instruction and learning of the bairns in the sang Schule, if he will consent to stay with them to the end of his life, and go on as well as he now does, saving the impediment of infirmity and inability of person.”

The Grammar Schools were recruited from the Song Schools, in which other subjects besides music were frequently taught. The Song Schools were thus the prototype of the Primary or Secondary Schools of the present day, while the Grammar Schools provided a classical education for those who wished to pursue their studies further.

It is not surprising that music should have played such a prominent part in the education of mediæval times. The great act of prayer and praise, known as the Liturgy of the Church, thus became familiar to the child of the Middle Ages from his earliest years. There were few books, hence the necessity of learning to read, for the

greater number of men, was not pressing. To be able to join in the praises of the Church was of obligation on all who aspired to the priesthood or to life in a religious Order, as well as to those who in any way took part in the Church services. Organs were apparently used in Scotland as early as the thirteenth century, almost as soon as they had been brought to a pitch of relative perfection. A modern writer has even gone so far as to say that the love of music and the feeling for it in Scotland at the present day are simply a survival of mediæval culture, and that the beautiful old Scottish melodies, so akin sometimes, in their minor melodies, to the wistful yearning of the Gregorian chant, are the children of the old Church music. No one who is familiar with the songs of the Western Highlands, as well as with the old plain-song melodies of the Church, can fail to notice this strange kinship.

We have a living picture of a Mediæval school and its scholars in the *Canterbury Tales* of Chaucer. The widow's little son, who went to school "to singen and to read, as smalle children

do in their childhede," hearing the elder children practising the Antiphon of Our Lady for the Advent Office, listens to the music instead of learning his lesson. The "primers" that little Hugh was naughtily neglecting in order to listen to Our Lady's Antiphon, was probably the horn-book in use at the time, consisting of a sheet of vellum or parchment, on which were written large the letters of the alphabet, the nine digits, the Lord's Prayer, and sometimes a few other prayers in the vernacular. This was mounted on a board with a small handle, the whole shaped something like a hand-mirror, and covered with a sheet of transparent horn, to protect it from dirty or mischievous fingers.

"Nought wist he what this Latin was to say, for he so yonge and tender was of age," says Chaucer, and we find incidentally, as we read the tale, that the older scholars *did* know the meaning of what they were singing, and that an older boy was able not only to give a clear translation of the Antiphon to his little questioner, but to tell him why "it was in usage." As soon as he had learnt the meaning of the

Antiphon, and that it was sung in honour " of Christes Moder deare," the child resolved to learn it by heart, both music and words, before Christmas, that is within a term of about three weeks, and having mastered it, sang it " full merrily " as he went to and from the school.

There are little touches in the story, written by a poet full of the spirit of his time, that are distinctly valuable. They show how from infancy the children of the Middle Ages were made familiar to a certain extent, as are Catholic children at the present day, with the language of the Church, being taught from their earliest years to recite the prayers, the great Antiphons, and many parts of the ritual of the Church in Latin. They show us, too, how the child of the Middle Ages, like the child of to-day, will not rest until he knows the meaning of what he hears, and how quick he is to learn what he loves. Even in the Priests' or Parochial Schools the country children were required to learn the Church chant and a considerable number of Latin prayers, hymns and psalms. Learning by heart from oral repetition was necessarily the

chief means of tuition when books were rare and costly. In the days of St Columba even, the first lesson-book of a child was the Latin psalter, and the chief endeavour of a diligent pupil was to learn it entirely by heart.* A mind might be less worthily equipped.

The spirit in which a pre-Reformation school-master looked on his duties can be seen in a treatise of Ninian Winzet, master of the Grammar School of Linlithgow, driven out of his "kindly town," and banished from his country for his staunch adherence to the Faith of his fathers—he refused to sign the "Confession of Faith." "I judged the teaching of the youth-hood in virtue and science," he says, "next after the authority with the ministers of justice, under it and after the angelical office of godly pastors, to obtain the third principal place most commodious and necessary to the kirk of God. Yea, so necessary thought I it, that the due charge and office of the prince and the prelate without it, is to them, after my judgment, wondrous painful and almost insupportable, and

* *Life of St Columba*, Adamnan.

yet little commodious to the commonwealth, to unfeigned obedience and true godlyness, when the people is rude and ignorant ; and contrary, by help of it to the youthhood, the office of all potentates is light to them and pleasant to the subject."

The Order of Day of an Aberdeen school-boy of the fifteenth century can be gathered from the *Rudimenta Puerorum*, a Latin grammar compiled by John Vaus, humanist at King's College, for the use of the boys at the Grammar School. It was first printed in 1522, and contains the following laws and statutes :—

" At first the boy, on entering the schools, shall prostrate himself on the ground, and with bended knees salute Christ, the best, the greatest author of the human race, and the Virgin, Mother of God,* with a short prayer in this manner : I thank Thee, heavenly Father, that Thou hast willed that the past night hath been

* Some translators of this phrase give the astounding rendering, " equal to God." If John Vaus had written such a thing he would have been immediately cited by his Bishop for a heresy, as gross on one side as that of Nestorius on the other. " Deipara " is the literal equivalent in ecclesiastical Latin of the Greek " Theotokos " (Mother of God). (See *Murray's Dictionary*.)

prosperous for me ; and I pray that Thou wilt also be favourable to me this day, for Thy glory and the health of my soul ; and Thou, Who art the true light, knowing no setting, sun eternal, enlivening, supporting, gladdening all things, deign to enlighten my mind, that I may never fall into any sin, but by Thy guiding arrive at life eternal. Amen. Jesus, be Thou Jesus to me, and by Thy Spirit strengthen me.”

At the seventh hour in the morning a part shall be commenced, and when it is finished the preceptor will enter, chastise either by word or stroke the deficient. When the punishment is done, let there be a public prelection of all the lessons by the preceptor himself at the eighth hour in the morning. When this is ended, breakfast. Private prelection by assistant masters at the tenth hour. At 11 or 11.30 poor scholars to go to town, a little later the town boys. Second prelection by headmaster on Terence, Virgil or Cicero at 11.30 (to those who should attend). At midday they may go home to dinner.

The afternoon follows something in the same

style. "Evening disputations from the fifth to the sixth hour at night; and when that is finished, they will hasten to sing prayers to God, the best, the greatest."

"They will learn fairly the art of counting. All will speak in Latin, Greek, Hebrew, French, Irish (Gaelic), never in the vernacular tongue, with the exception of those that know Latin.

"Laws of conduct: No one shall do injury to another by word or deed. If by fighting they raise strife and altercation on both sides, each will suffer punishment. If, instead of words, any gives blows, he alone who inflicts the blows shall suffer punishment. If they who are more advanced in years, by sinning in the premises, will give an occasion of transgressing to the younger scholars, they will have double punishment, because they transgressed and gave an occasion of transgressing to scholars, who otherwise had not the mind for transgressing."*

These rules were published in 1553, but were probably in use long before.

It has been stated that few of the barons of

* *Miscellany of the Spalding Club.*

the North knew how to sign their own names. If this be true, as it probably is, it was not for the want of schools, but for the want of the will to attend them. This is proved by a law passed in 1496, compelling the knights and barons to give a better education to at least their eldest sons. We are told that the law had no practical consequences, but the fact that many of the sons of the county families did attend the Aberdeen Grammar School is evidenced by the records of the time.

In the rural districts, as in the towns, before the institution of universities, the great abbeys and religious houses were the chief centres of culture. The Abbey of Aberbrothoc, or Arbroath, founded in the twelfth century, when the stream of Scotland's native culture was merging itself in the broader stream of Christian education which the Roman Church had been gradually developing, "maintained its pre-eminence as among the first, if not the greatest, of Scottish religious houses, from its earliest period down to the Reformation."*

* *History of Early Education in Scotland*, Edgar.

“ When, about the time of Kenneth M‘Alpine,” says Edgar, “ Roman influences first began to play on the Scottish Church, our country was being put in touch with the great electric current of spiritual life which the Roman Church was sending through Europe. . . . Margaret and her friends brought with them a whole-hearted devotion to the Roman Church and its ritual. The outcome of their influence was the absolute unity of the native church with that central organisation, the pulse of whose wonderful life was now beating throughout Christendom. From this time on there is a common basis of culture being laid by all the churches which acknowledged themselves children of the great Mother. Henceforth what affected the Church in Italy, France or England, in some degree also affected Scotland. Schools became European in their type ; what was native, provincial or national, tended to lose itself in the Catholic ; though local conditions, doubtless more or less modified the universal type, and native popular literature nurtured and developed national idiosyncrasies.

“ A new Latin civilisation, based not on force of arms, but upon the spiritual recognition of a Divine Humanity, had begun to take root in Europe. Through the monks and secular canons, who spread themselves all over the West, and in the twelfth century found a firm settlement in Scotland, the gates of a spiritual kingdom of God, of which the Church was the realisation upon earth, were thrown open to men. Into this unity all men, though members of hostile clans, tribes, or nations, by teaching and example were invited to enter. Obedience to the laws of this kingdom was insisted upon as a first necessity, and the discipline of this obedience reduced the most opposite minds into a common Christian form.”*

“ There can be no doubt,” says Skelton, “ that whatever was best and worthiest in Scottish life, for several hundred years, was to be found in one form or another in connection with the great religious houses—the abbeys and monasteries—which were planted in nearly every district, however remote and however inaccessible.

* *History of Early Education in Scotland.*

There the sacred flame of liberal culture, of polite learning, of a humane civilisation, was encouraged to burn. The moral, spiritual, intellectual illumination of the people—what of it there might be—came from them.” “On the material side,” says Edgar,* “the monasteries must be considered the source of all that was best in the rural districts. To them we owe the settlement of these districts, and the spread and progress of agriculture and horticulture. They were large employers of labour, and their labourers had rights and privileges which the serfs of the nobles did not enjoy ; to them, indeed, the serfs in some measure owed the emancipation which was finally secured from their feudal lords. For, as Christian masters, the monks were touched with a spirit of consideration, charity and mercy, and in due time their influence operated upon others. The settlement of a monastery was followed by the cultivation of the land, and security for the cultivator—comfort and comparative wealth naturally came too, in due time, to bless the

* *History of Early Education in Scotland.*

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people. They established markets and fairs in many places which otherwise would have been wastes, and so encouraged and developed the rudiments of commerce. They took upon them responsibilities which landowners do not always or often recognise. They were the advisers and teachers of all—the schoolmasters, lawyers, doctors, guardians, and relieving officers of a community which they protected by the sanctity of their profession against the ruthless dealing of a rough age. The stranger found a shelter within their gates, the sick a hospital, the poor charity, the fugitive from the law a sanctuary, the student a home of culture. Their courtyard was at times a busy thoroughfare, like a market-place, and there the wandering minstrel sang his lays, and the merchant sold his wares. . . . The monks, through their abbot or prior, were in touch with men of all ranks, from the baron to the peasant, and were affected by all the movements of public life. The monasteries were centres of general progress and enlightenment. Many of their inmates had been educated abroad, and had come into

contact with the most cultured men of the time ; they naturally brought with them some of the broader views and the more cultured tastes of Paris and Bologna.

“ Their abbeys and churches had been in many cases the work of the famous guild of artists and craftsmen, who, from the thirteenth century, when they were created into a corporation by the Pope, travelled from country to country, and left behind them those exquisite examples of architectural art. But these men must have educated native workmen to assist them, and the monks themselves, no doubt, took their share in the task of raising the sacred edifices. They remained, at any rate, things of beauty, which, even in their ruin, are an educative influence in the land. . . . In these august sanctuaries of mediæval Catholicism the deepest and most imaginative expression of the national life was to be found.”

“ All the monasteries,” says Cosmo Innes, “ were zealous agriculturists and gardeners, at a time when we have no proof that the lay lord knew anything of the soil beyond consuming

its fruits.” “ Contemporary records show that they were good neighbours and kind landlords, and from that source we learn that tenants of the Church’s lands were held to be the most favoured.”*

On the subject of the building of Kelso Abbey, Cosmo Innes says what will hold good for every other district in which cathedrals or monasteries were reared : “ During that time at least, perhaps for long afterwards, the carver of wood, the sculptor in stone and marble, the tile-maker, the lead- and iron-worker, the painter, whether of Scripture stories or of heraldic blazonings, the designer and the worker in stained glass for those gorgeous windows, must each have been put in requisition, and each, in the exercise of his art, have contributed to raise the taste and cultivate the minds of the inmates of the cloister. Of many of these works the monks themselves were the artists and artisans.”†

* *The Knights Templars at and around Aberdeen*, Alexander Walker.

† Much might be cited to the same effect from the works of such historians as Migne, Allies, Gasquet, Montalembert, Ozanam, etc., but the writings of Scottish and non-Catholic authors have alone been quoted.

Of the building of Lincoln Cathedral we are told by an old chronicler that every man who took part in it worked without pay, and that so many competed for the honour of helping to build the House of the Lord that all could not be accepted. Not to be daunted, however, the rejected few, taking the horses out of the carts, harnessed themselves in their place, and, happy to render such humble help, drew the materials for building. All the workers made their confession and received Holy Communion before beginning to build, in order that they might bring clean hearts to what was considered a holy work. The Bishop himself carried hod and mortar amongst the least skilled of his workmen. It is not surprising that the cathedrals and churches built in such a spirit as this raised the souls of men to their Maker, and were fit houses of prayer.

It is a far cry from Lincoln to the North of Scotland, but the spirit was the same, and the skill of the Scottish worker in wood, stone or metal, to judge from the few poor fragments of mediæval art which escaped the ravages of the

reformers, was not inferior to that of his English contemporary.

Among the Grey Friars or Franciscans of Aberdeen, whose monastery in pre-Reformation times was one of the distinctive features of the city, several of the Brotherhood were distinguished by their skill in building, carving and glass-making. Brother John Strang, a priest and an artist in stained glass, is recorded as having been "most faithful in his work," and as having executed many things pertaining to his art for convents—at St Johnston, Ayr, Elgin and Aberdeen. He died in 1517, and was probably the first glass-worker in the town. Besides the convents already cited, he made the glass for the convent and church of his own Order, and, in all probability, that used for King's College and the Cathedral.

It is mentioned of another Grey Friar, Brother John Thomson, that he would never accept food or drink for work done outside his convent. He was a skilful carpenter and mason, and probably helped Alexander Galloway, the famous Parson of Kinkell and no less famous architect, in

several of his undertakings. The Church of the Grey Friars, for which Bishop Gavin Dunbar gave the money—the Grey Friars were a mendicant Order, and possessed nothing—was built on a plan designed by Galloway, who furnished for it, at his own expense, an altar to St John the Baptist.



BISHOP ELPHINSTONE.

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CHAPTER V

THE COMING OF BISHOP ELPHINSTONE

THE origin of the See of Aberdeen dates from the time of St Columba. "St Machar," says Innes,* "was born of noble parents, in Ireland, and at first named Mochonna. He had followed St Columba into Britain, and after he had made more than an ordinary progress in piety and learning in Ycolmkill, St Columba, having caused him to be advanced to Holy Orders, and afterwards to be consecrated bishop, sent him with twelve of his disciples to preach the Gospel in the most northern parts of the Pictish provinces, admonishing him to settle and erect a church upon the brink of a river where he should find that by its windings it formed the figure of

* *Ecclesiastical History of Scotland*. Quoted from the *Life of St Columba*, published by Colgan. "This account," says Innes, "agrees in substance with that contained in the Breviary of Aberdeen, which was annually recited in that Church upon the 12th of November, being the Festival of St Machar."

a bishop's crosier. St Machar, following this admonition, went on northward, preaching the Gospel till he came to the brink of the river Don, near its entry to the sea, at a place where, by its windings, the river makes the foresaid figure of a crosier, and there he built a church, which still bears his name, and became the Cathedral of Aberdeen in the time of King David I., who transferred the bishop's seat from Mortlach to the Old Town of Aberdeen. It is reported that St Machar went afterwards to Rome, in the time of St Gregory the Great, and the Aberdeen Breviary insinuates that it was at Rome that he was consecrated bishop. It is also reported that, upon his return, he stopped at Tours, in France, where he died, and was buried in St Martin's Church, which is probably the reason why, in the remains of the Church of Aberdeen, there is no account of his relics honoured there, as it was usual for holy bishops dying on the place where they had resided and laboured."

"There was also a monastery of St Columba," says Fordun, "founded in his own time at Old

Aberdeen by St Machar, otherwise called St Mochonna, whom the Saint sent with others of his disciples, twelve in number, as we shall see, to preach the Gospel among the Picts in the North ; and many other monasteries through the Pictish and Scottish territories. Such, among others, were the monasteries, churches, or cells of most of these holy bishops, whose names we have already set down from our ancient kalendars.” “ In these monasteries they lived with their disciples, whereof some were always priests, and to them the people in the neighbourhood had their recourse for instruction, and for the Sacraments of Baptism, Penance and the Holy Eucharist.”*

“ The letters patent of King David,” says Gordon,† “ or the copies thereof are yit to be seen, by which he giveth the villedge of Old Aberdene to the bischope of Aberdeen. . . . Above the wynding turn of the river Don standeth the great Church of Machar.”

“ The great Church of Machar,” like many of

* *Ecclesiastical History of Scotland*, Innes.

† *A Description of the Towns of Old and New Aberdeen*.

the other mediæval Cathedrals, was many generations in building, and the Cathedral, which stood for a brief space complete in all its splendour, was the successor of at least two other churches on the same site. The original Church of St Machar, which was probably of a primitive description, seems to have fallen into ruins by 1163, for in that year Bishop Matthew de Kyninmund began to build on the traditional spot, "a Church in honour of God, the Holy Virgin, and St Machar." The result of his labours seems to have been either unsatisfactory or incomplete, for in 1281 Henry le Cheyne, Bishop of Aberdeen and Privy Councillor to Alexander III., demolished the old building and laid the foundations of one more worthy to be the cathedral church of the diocese. Owing, however, to the Wars of Independence, and the continual incursions of the English, things went slowly, and the walls were only beginning to rise when the bishop died.

Alexander de Kyninmund, the first bishop of that name,* a man who, according to Boece,

* There was a second Bishop Alexander de Kyninmund in 1357.

“ held his office for the advancement of religion and piety, and travelled all over his mountainous diocese teaching and preaching,” next took up the work begun by his predecessor, but he, too, accomplished little, owing to the unsettled condition of the times. In the year 1333, during his administration, the English sacked and burnt the city, together with the bishop’s residence and those of the canons, having first stripped them of everything that could be carried off. “ But,” says Boece, giving the devil his due, “ they spared the churches and monasteries, even setting guards to protect them from the flying sparks which might so easily have been their ruin.”*

In 1341, when Scotland at last got a breathing space, Bishop William de Deyn found plenty of work to be done. He restored the buildings which had been destroyed by the English, and “ recalled to more gentle manners the clergy,” who had, like everybody else, been demoralised by the disorders of war.

* *Murthlacensium et Aberdonensium Episcoporum Vitae*, Trans. Moir.

An interesting story is told by Boece anent the election of the second Bishop Alexander de Kyninmund. King David II., the unworthy successor of Robert the Bruce, wished to bestow the bishopric upon a certain favourite of his, named Nicholas, whom he had brought with him from France, and who had bribed several of the courtiers to urge his suit. A royal missive signifying the King's desire having been sent to the canons of Aberdeen, they courageously replied that "the Bishopric of Aberdeen had not yet fallen so low that the man who had tried to secure it by bribery and self-seeking should be intruded into it." They stated respectfully and firmly that, while they acknowledged the King's authority in all matters connected with the government of the realm, the business of electing the bishop belonged to them. Being bound by oath to choose a man of holy life and learning, they had fixed their choice, by common consent, on no other than the King's own Councillor, Alexander de Kyninmund, whose holy life and prudence were known to all. The King took the dauntless demeanour of the

canons very ill. Finding, however, that they held firm, and that all good and honest men were on their side, he decided to make the best of a bad business and let them have their way.

We have here, played out in the remote North of Scotland, an act of the drama which was at that time the burning question of Europe. Did the appointment of the bishop lie with the King or with the Church? If ever a claim was justified by the results which followed on its being set aside, it was that of the Church to elect her own bishops. "Would that our days," laments Boece, a sorrowful witness of the naming of unworthy men to Church benefices, "possessed such integrity and such canons!"

Bishop Alexander fully justified the choice of the Chapter. Having arranged and improved the plan of the attempted church, he proceeded with the building, which advanced rapidly towards completion during the episcopate of Henry de Lichtoun. Elected in 1424, Lichtoun is mentioned, together with Bishop Kennedy, Bishop Turnbull, and Bishop Spens, as among the most eminent men of the time. "During

the reign of James II.," says Leslie,* " religion was in a flourishing state in Scotland. The bishops were wise and prudent, the most eminent of them being Kennedy, Turnbull, Lichton and Spens, and the heads of the monastic houses were distinguished for their piety and hospitality. There were also several doctors, famous for their theological knowledge and their acquaintance with the liberal sciences."†

Bishop Ingelram de Lyndesay, who succeeded Lichtoun in 1441, panelled the walls of the cathedral, inlaid the roof " with excellent red fir, curiously and strongly built,"‡ paved the floor with freestone, and added folding doors at the entrances. It is interesting to note that Bishop Ingelram was a great lover and student of Holy Scripture. So great was his devotion to the Epistles of St Paul that " he ever kept them in his bosom and fondly conned them until he had learnt every word of them by heart."§

* *History of Scotland.*

† " The substantial accuracy of this statement," says Grub, " may probably be relied on."

‡ *Old Aberdeen*, Orem.

§ *Murthlacensium et Aberdonensium Episcoporum Vitae*, Boece.

He had begun a commentary on them which was left unfinished at his death.

He was a courageous upholder, too, of the Church's liberty on that burning question of the appointment to benefices. Boece tells us that he fell into disgrace with the King towards the end of his life, because he had refused to bestow charges upon certain ecclesiastics named by James, but whom, for several reasons, he considered unfit for such an office. A little touch of his biographer shows us how much the holy bishop was beloved in his diocese. "While his obsequies were being performed," he says, "the townsfolk of Aberdeen wept for grief, and warmly kissed, with deep reverence, his dead body." Boece came to Aberdeen to be Principal of Bishop Elphinstone's new college, scarcely forty years after the death of Bishop de Lyndesay, and there were men still living who could remember the scene.

Bishop Thomas Spens, who succeeded Bishop de Lyndesay, was, like so many of Aberdeen's bishops, a Privy Councillor and a great statesman. "He was remarkable," says Boece, "for

his pre-eminent honesty, ripe sagacity, and marvellous general ability. Having devoted himself to unselfish and lofty causes for the benefit of his country, he spent the latter years of his life at Aberdeen, where he enriched the Cathedral with magnificent gifts of beautiful vestments wrought with gold and silver, jewelled chalices, paintings and statues of wonderful beauty for the high altar, and curtains interwoven with gold and embroidered with palm branches.”*

Boece himself had frequent opportunities for studying what he describes so enthusiastically, and evidently had an artist's eye for harmonious colouring. Bishop Spens died in 1480, having founded and endowed a hospital for the poor in Edinburgh, to which town he owed his education. Bishop Blakadder, his successor, held the See but a short time, being transferred to Glasgow three years after his nomination. He was

* We can gather some faint idea of the beauty of the embroidery executed by the women of the time from Church vestments that still remain extant: the Sion cope, for instance. A set of Mass vestments embroidered by Queen Mary, with another of the same period, or earlier, are now at Blairs College. The former has an exquisite design of grapes and vine leaves worked on a waved ground of solid silver embroidery.



VESTMENT EMBROIDERED BY MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS.

[To face p. 96.]



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succeeded by Bishop William Elphinstone, described by Mr James Moir in his preface to Boece's *Lives of the Bishops*, as "probably the greatest statesman of his day, and certainly one of the most saintly."

"Scotland," says the same writer, "under James IV. was more prosperous and made greater progress than it had known since the days of Alexander III. and Robert Bruce. To this prosperity Elphinstone contributed as much as any man in Scotland, with the exception of the King."

"This Catholic bishop, thoroughly imbued with the national spirit of his Church, and of the great educational system which the Church had taken under its wing,"* was born in 1431 in Glasgow. When a little child, scarcely four years old, he disappeared one day, and was found, after long and anxious search, kneeling before the shrine of the Blessed Virgin in the inner sanctuary of the Cathedral. He was carried home, says his biographer, protesting with tears and cries. This devotion to the holy

* *History of the University of Aberdeen*, Bulloch.

Mother of God, which had begun so early, was a distinguishing characteristic of the good bishop throughout his life. When a little older, says Boece, he dreamt one night that he was kneeling in the same place, "as he had often accustomed to be," earnestly beseeching the Holy Virgin that he might never fall into any grievous sin or willingly be guilty of any base act. And it seemed to the boy in his dream that the Blessed Mother spoke to him, bidding him lead a good and virtuous life, and "build up the Church when he should be exalted to the office of a bishop." As he grew older he showed a love for "quietness and thoughtful silence," at the same time endearing himself to everybody who came in contact with him by his "affability of disposition, his good manners and his rare beauty." Having studied logic, physics and philosophy at the University of Glasgow, he practised for some time as an advocate in the Ecclesiastical Courts, distinguishing himself particularly by his uprightness and readiness to espouse the cause of the poor and friendless. He was ordained to the priesthood in his twenty-

sixth year. Four years later he went to the University of Paris, a favourite haunt of Scotsmen at the time, where, after several years of hard study, he became first Reader of Canon Law, "an office," says Boece, who studied there himself a little later, "bestowed only upon those who are skilled in both branches of the law." After having lectured for six years to crowded audiences, Elphinstone proceeded to the University of Orleans, where he taught the same subject with equal success. The Parliament of Paris, of which the President, John de Ganai, was his intimate friend, not infrequently asked his advice on important questions, and apparently took it. "During his stay in France," says Boece, "he gained, by his happy disposition, many friends." The charm of manner, which comes of charity and holiness of life, seems to have been, from all accounts, one of his most salient characteristics. On his return to Scotland after an absence of nine years, Elphinstone was made Rector of the University of Glasgow, and took his seat in Parliament, where he rendered eminent service to his country. "Nothing was expedient in his

eyes," says Boece, "which could justly seem to any one dishonourable." In 1479 he was sent on an embassy to Louis XI., his mission being to "allay certain causes of suspicion." Given the character of the French monarch, this was an exceedingly delicate matter, and one which called for not a little tact. Perhaps no higher tribute could be paid to the ambassador, both as statesman and saint, than the fact that he won the complete confidence of Louis. "He so gained the goodwill of the French king," we are told, "that that monarch ordered him to be made one of his privy councillors." The position was one which was not to Elphinstone's taste; the shifty ways of Louis and the cold cruelty of his character must have been particularly hateful to one so straight and true. His mission ended, he returned to Scotland, and was immediately offered the bishopric of Ross. Boece says that he refused it, and declared, when his friends remonstrated, that "Ross was not to be his See, but that of which the Mother of God was the patron and guardian, thus making allusion to the dream or vision of his childhood." The

Register of the Bishops of Ross, nevertheless, names Elphinstone as having held office for three years. It is possible that he was named, but did not take possession, since it was not until four years after his nomination to the See of Aberdeen that he was consecrated bishop. There is probably some truth in Boece's story, or he would not have published, only a few years after Elphinstone's death, a statement which every one would have known to be false. In 1488 the Bishop was made Privy Councillor to the King, on whom he exercised a powerful influence for good, and who held him in high esteem. After the pitiful death of James III. at Sauchie Burn, Elphinstone returned to Aberdeen, where he proceeded at once to inaugurate some necessary reforms among the clergy, and to make arrangements for the more worthy worship of God, which had, as usual, somewhat suffered, owing to the war with England and the unsettled state of affairs. He was one of those reformers who attain their ends by the example of their own holy lives and the Christlike charity of their intercourse with others. It might, indeed, be

said of him, as was said of his great contemporary, St Philip Neri :—

“ This is the saint of gentleness and kindness,
Cheerful in penance, and in precept winning ;
Patiently healing of their pride and blindness,
Souls that are sinning.”*

“ If ever,” says Boece, “ he saw any sorry for the sins charged against them, like a kind, not a relentless father, with gentle words, and oftener with tears, he exhorted them to live carefully and not be guilty of sin through love of pleasure ; the result being that many were induced to lead a better life, not so much by the authority, as by the kindness of the bishop. His sympathy with those that were in misery or any affliction was so great, that he relieved their distresses with tears.” His wisdom was as great as his tenderness. Even the King (James IV.) took no step in any matter and discussed no question without submitting it beforehand to his judgment. “ The love and esteem with which he was regarded by king, nobles and commons,” says Boece, with true discernment, “ is gained and preserved only by pre-eminent virtue.”

* *Verses on Various Occasions*, Cardinal Newman.

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In his own cathedral and diocese he enforced the use of the stately and prayerful Gregorian chant,* naming a skilled musician, one John Malison, to teach it to the people and act as master of ceremonies. "Whatever musical skill," wrote Boece, "is possessed in Aberdeen, whatever perfection in antiphonic chanting the northern Church can boast, must be justly ascribed to this man's efforts."

"Unwearied by all his labour, daily employments, controversies, decisions, and consultations," continues his biographer, "which he undertook for the public good, the bishop set himself to the adornment of his cathedral church as if he had been chosen by God for that purpose alone." The gift of throwing himself heart and soul into whatever he undertook seems indeed to have been a characteristic of Bishop Elphinstone, and one of the secrets of his success. He completed the great tower of the cathedral, covered the whole building with lead, and undertook to rebuild the choir on a larger and handsomer scale, selecting skilful stone-cutters and

* See Appendix A on *The Music of the Church*.

masons to carry out the work. Another great work that he inaugurated, but which was not finished until after his death, was the bridge across the Dee. In earlier times there seems to have been a bridge on the same spot, but it had apparently fallen into ruin. In 1459 the Town Council contemplated rebuilding it, and had even gone so far as to appoint Master John of Levingston, Vicar of Inverugy, master of the work, but the design had been abandoned, probably on account of the expense that it would have entailed. Alexander Galloway, Rector of Kinkell, one of the most eminent architects of the time, was given charge of the undertaking. He was an intimate friend of the bishop's, and was associated with him in all his building enterprises. Thomas Franche, the King's mason, was contractor for the work.

But Elphinstone, while devoting himself whole-heartedly to the improvement of his diocese, kept up his friendship with the King, who had often need of wise counsel, not to say paternal admonition. James's faults have been dwelt on at some length by historians, and his

private life was certainly open to criticism, yet to judge by the impression he made on a foreigner of his own time—Don Pedro de Ayala, the Spanish Ambassador to Scotland—he was by no means destitute of the qualities that go to make a good ruler. “The King is twenty-five years and some months old,” wrote Don Pedro. “He is of noble stature, neither tall nor short, and as handsome in complexion and shape as a man can be. His address is very agreeable. He speaks the following foreign languages—Latin, very well; French, German, Flemish, Italian and Spanish: Spanish as well as the marquis, but he pronounces it more distinctly. His own language is as different from English as Aragonese from Castilian. The King speaks, besides, the languages of the savages (!) who live in some parts of Scotland and on the Islands.* It is as different from Scottish as Biscayan is from Castilian. His knowledge of languages is

* It was lucky for Don Pedro that there were no reporters in his day, and that this most insulting description of the Western Highlanders did not reach their ears. The Highland Celt is sensitive, and in those days was apt to resent such aspersions in a very effective manner.

wonderful. He is well read in the Bible and in some other devout books. He is a good historian. He has read many Latin and French histories, and has profited by them, as he has a very good memory. He never cuts his hair or his beard. It becomes him very well. He fears God and obeys all the precepts of the Church. He does not eat meat on Wednesdays and Fridays. He would not ride on Sundays for any consideration, not even to Mass. He says all his prayers. Before transacting any business he hears two Masses. After Mass he has a cantata sung, during which he sometimes despatches very urgent business. He gives alms liberally, but is a severe judge, especially in the case of murderers. He has a great predilection for priests, and receives advice from them, especially from the Friars Observant (Franciscans), with whom he confesses.”*

This description, written by a contemporary, and not intended for the King’s perusal, makes him out by no means such a barbarian as the Scot of his period is sometimes supposed to be.

* *Spanish Calendar of Letters.*

It is, moreover, a strong argument against the popular supposition that the reading of the Bible was forbidden by the Church to her children, and that the desecration of the Sunday was one of the salient features of the Middle Ages. 'That he should have had a "great predilection for priests" was not surprising, when we consider that Elphinstone was one of them, another son of the North, the Abbot of Aberbrothoc, or Arbroath, being another.

It was through the influence of Bishop Elphinstone that Walter Chepman and Andrew Millar, burgesses, were encouraged by James to set up in Edinburgh Scotland's first printing press. One of the first books printed in the country was *The breviary with legends of Scots Saints, gathered and eked by the reverend Father in God, William, Bishop of Aberdeen*.*

A few copies of this breviary are still extant, embodying, together with the lives of the primitive Saints of Scotland, a good deal of history, from written memoirs, now, for the most part, lost.

* Charter granted by James IV. to Walter Chepman and Andrew Millar, licensing them to set up a printing press in Edinburgh.

CHAPTER VI

THE FOUNDING OF THE UNIVERSITY

IN the book of *The Records of the University of Aberdeen* we find the following succinct passage :

“ Bishop William Elphinstone founded the universitie of Aberdene, with the varietie of professours, maisters and members thereof ; caused build the magnifick edifice of the colledge, church, professours’ houses, and gairdens therein ; mortified unto the same the rents and revenues wheron they might then competentlie live for the time ; richlie also adorned and endowed the said colledge with costlie ornaments, bells, jewells, tapestrie, and the lyk ; and founded twelf bursars of philosophie to be educat in their course of philosophie and pass the degree of maister of airts therein.”

This rather comprehensive undertaking, so shortly described but so long and arduous of

accomplishment, had probably been maturing in the mind of Bishop Elphinstone for some time before the year 1495, when he began to carry it out. The times were favourable for such an undertaking. "The munificence of Bishop Kennedy, the founder of St Salvador's College at St Andrews," says Rait,* "and of Bishop Elphinstone, who in 1495 founded the University of Aberdeen, is additional proof of national wealth, and the list of early benefactors to Elphinstone's foundation shows that for humbler people the tenure of property was secure and the conditions of life were comfortable." The Bishop, moreover, had had some experience of universities and their working; he had grasped with characteristic perspicacity what was to be secured and what avoided.

Before the institution of the Scottish Universities, the Scot in search of higher education had been obliged to seek it outside his own country. A few went to Oxford or Cambridge, but owing to the ancient league with France and the enmity with England which had resulted from the Wars

* *Scotland.*

of Independence, many more went beyond the seas. In consequence of this, the mediæval Scot became, perhaps more than any of his contemporaries, a citizen of the world. We find him, in the person of John Duns Scotus,* at the head of one of the great mediæval schools of theology and philosophy; in the person of Richard of St Victor, and one of the greatest mystics of the Middle Ages, Prior of the famous School and Abbey of St Victor in Paris.† We find him, in the famous “Garde Eçossaise,” forming the trusty bodyguard of the French King—the only men in his kingdom, we are told, that Louis XI. trusted. This, however—the character of Louis considered—cannot be said to cast any aspersion on his own subjects, although it bears witness to the faith of the “Garde Eçossaise.” “Le Fier Eçossais” was the sobriquet which the

* Ireland and England have both disputed with Scotland the possession of Scotus. Hill Burton, who says he cheerfully resigns John Scotus Erigena, sometimes confounded with Duns Scotus, to Ireland, declares that “early Continental writers never seem to have doubted the Scottish origin of the latter, that Rabelais, his contemporary, calls him “Maistre Jehan de l'Ecosse,” and Moreri remarks that he is “Dit Scot, parcequ'il etait natif d'Ecosse.” *The Scot Abroad*, Hill Burton.

† The School of St Victor, together with that of Notre Dame and St Geneviève, formed the cradle of the University of Paris.

Scottish Guard had earned for its members, because, says an old French writer, “ils aimaient mieux mourir, pour honneur garder, que vivre en honte, reprochez de tache de lascheté.”

The early Universities were either associations of students, such as that of Bologna, or colleges of teachers, as at Paris. They were international institutions, representing the unity of Christendom; Bologna, Paris and Oxford counting among their students men of every nation, in proportion as the renown of some great doctor attracted wandering scholars. The universal use of the Latin language as the medium for the transmission of every kind of learning made this condition of things possible.

The University of Glasgow, where Elphinstone had made his early studies, had been founded on the model of Bologna. Paris, as it had done to a great extent for Oxford, Cambridge and St Andrews, was to serve as pattern for the new University of Aberdeen. The co-operation of the King was enlisted and the Pope was appealed to. Alexander VI., though a bad Pope, was a patron of learning, and was apparently distressed

at the very highly coloured picture of the state of barbarous ignorance in the North. The Bull authorising the institution of a University with "all the privileges granted to those already established," was promptly forthcoming. It was published by the Bishop in the Cathedral of St Machar, on the 25th of February 1496, "in the presence of the canons and 'other considerable persons,' the doctors and professors in all the faculties named therein being forthwith established. Students began to flock thereto from all quarters, and many of all qualities gave in their names to be matriculated as members and supporters of the University."*

A characteristic of the earlier Universities, insisted on in the Bull† of Pope Alexander, was their democratic as well as their international spirit. The poor scholar, ill-fed and out at elbows, who had often to spend his vacation labouring or begging for the means wherewith to live while he continued his education, rubbed shoulders with the young noble or the son of the

* *Old Aberdeen, Orem.*

† This Bull, a fine specimen of penmanship, says Bulloch, is still to be seen in the muniment room at King's College.

wealthy burgess in the University halls, and could rise, by dint of hard study and natural merit, above them both.

The equipment of the new University was complete in theory from the beginning, all the four faculties—Arts, Theology, Law and Medicine—being provided for. The scope of Bishop Elphinstone's scheme was thus wider than that of any University in Britain.* The teaching was to be in the hands of clergy holding Church benefices, and laymen with the degrees of Doctors or Masters, the course of instruction being open to all, "come whence they may." The four usual degrees of Bachelor, Licentiate (corresponding to the M.A.), Master and Doctor, were instituted, the graduates being privileged to teach *in any university of the world*.†

In September 1498 the salary list, based on the financial arrangements at Orleans, where Elphinstone had taught for several years, was drawn up. It ranged from £20, paid to the Professor of Civil Law, to twenty merks (a merk was

* *History of the University of Aberdeen*, Bulloch.

† Bulloch.

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equal to 13s. 4d.) to the Professor of Canon Law.* Bursaries were also instituted, the first being founded by Duncan Scherer, one of the canons of the Cathedral.

The University was now an accomplished fact. The next step of the bishop was to found within it a college, to which he gave the name of "Collegium Sancta Mariae in Nativitate." This college, known afterwards as King's College, became identical with the University.

In 1505 were published the Constitutions. They provided for thirty-six members, the permanent staff consisting of the Principal, a Doctor of Civil Law, one of Canon Law, one of Medicine, a Regent or Sub-Principal, and a Grammarian. Five Masters of Arts acted as student teachers or regents; thirteen undergraduates, one of whom was to teach poetry and rhetoric, together with eight prebendaries, including a cantor, organist and sacristan, with four choir boys, completed the list. All, save the teachers of Civil and of Canon Law, the Grammarian, who was

* This gives no idea, to modern minds, of their real emoluments. According to money values in those days they were sufficiently well paid.

also Master of the Grammar School, and the Doctor of Medicine, were to live within the college buildings.

Bishop Elphinstone had not failed to notice, while at the University of Glasgow, that the absence of regular supervision of the governing body had led to certain abuses. To protect his new University from kindred evils, he provided that the Rector, given that he was *not* a member of the college, should make an annual visitation. If he happened to be a member, two visitors from outside were to be appointed to perform this duty ; they were to draw up a list of any matters that called for amendment, to be afterwards reported to the Chancellor.

The University founded, Bishop Elphinstone proceeded to select his staff, choosing as first Principal of the college Hector Boece, or Boyes, a native of Angus, who was then Professor of Philosophy at the College of Montaigu, in the University of Paris. Boece has been roughly handled by some historians, apparently because he wrote a history of Scotland according to the canons of his own time, and not those of the

present day, but Rait* calls him “ a man of great ability and renown, whose name is not unworthy to occupy a prominent position in the early annals of a great seat of learning.” Grub, who, like Rait, has the gift of historical perspective, describes him as a scholar of considerable attainments, who discharged his duties of Principal of the college with great efficiency; Buchanan mentions his courtesy and sweetness of temper.† Whatever his faults may have been, conceit does not seem to have been one of them. “ Ignorant as I am,” he says, “ and all but devoid of learning, I am filled with regret at having left, while yet a young man, and hardly supplied with the rudiments of learning, so many learned teachers, who have laid me under a debt of obligation.” His chief consolation, he tells us, on quitting that “ University of Paris, the parent of every liberal art,” was the fact that his intimate friend and fellow-student, William Hay, named as Sub-Principal in the college, accompanied him to Scot-

* *History of the University of Aberdeen.*

† That he had been chosen as Professor of Philosophy at the University of Paris shows him to have been a man of letters of European celebrity.

land, to be associated closely with him in his work in the new University, and to succeed him as Principal at his death. Arthur Boece, the brother of Hector, was appointed Canonist, Nicholas Hay, Civilist ; James Cummyne, Doctor of Medicine ; and John Vaus, Grammarian and Humanist.

Among the canons of the Cathedral, “ men of notable learning,” from whom the young Principal received a warm welcome, he especially mentions David Guthrie, Professor of Civil and of Canon Law ; and James Ogilvie, Doctor of Divinity, both “ gifted with extraordinary mental powers and admirable eloquence, who laboured hard (literally “ *sweated*”) at expounding to crowded audiences,” the former, Canon Law, and the latter, the Holy Scriptures. He mentions also, as versed in Biblical lore, James Brown and others, “ widely read in sacred and profane literature.” Among the first students of the University he notes several eminent scholars—Alexander Hay, later Rector ; James Ogilvie, Professor of Civil Law ; Henry Spittal, a kinsman of the Bishop, “ a man of no ordinary learning ” ; John Lindsay, who died young ;

and Alexander Lawrence, who entered the Dominican Order.

The first to attain the honour of Doctor of Divinity in the college was John Adam, who later became Principal of the Dominicans, or Friars Preachers, and reformed that Order in Scotland. He was remarkable, says Boece, for his pious and holy life, as well as for his firm government, greatly needed at a time of general relaxation, following on war and its attendant miseries. His labours in the Order were very fruitful, for, says Boece, "there are now among us many Dominicans, learned, pious and religious, who expound the Scriptures, take the triple vows of a monk, and preach."

The "youths of pregnant pairs"—in other words, the undergraduates—were grounded in grammar by John Vaus for some time before they attacked philosophy. Vaus is described as an alumnus of the School of Aberdeen, with a profound knowledge of his subject. He wrote a grammar for the use of his pupils in the Grammar School, as well as a commentary on the *Doctrinale*, or rhythmical elements of the Latin

Grammar, by Alexandrinus. The first edition of the Grammar was published by Badius Ascensius in Paris, and the author faced the danger of a journey to France in order to correct the proofs. When we remember that the French Ambassador, who came to Scotland to fetch the Princess Margaret, affianced bride of the Dauphin, afterwards Louis XI., took fifty-one days to accomplish the voyage from La Rochelle to Edinburgh, we are not surprised at the tribute to John Vaus's courage paid by the printer in his preface to the work. There were perils by land as well as perils by sea in a journey from Aberdeen to Paris. "Vaus," says Bulloch, "was the first of that long line of Latin grammarians who have done so much to give a peculiar position to Scottish classicists in general, and to Aberdeen scholars in particular."* His *Doctrinale* was published in the same year as Boece's *Lives of the Bishops of Aberdeen*, and it is surely to the credit of so young a University that it possessed men capable of producing two such works in the same year.

* *History of the University of Aberdeen*, Bulloch.

From a visitation of the college in 1549, it appears that the regents—theology students appointed to teach in Arts for not more than six years—began by teaching logic, went on to physics and natural philosophy, with the treatise on the sphere, and ended with arithmetic, geometry and cosmography, moral philosophy, political economy, and economics! “A Regent,” says Bulloch, “had apparently to be a walking encyclopædia.”

While teaching this astounding list of subjects, the Regent was also engaged in the study of theology. During the first part of his course he devoted himself entirely to the study of the Bible, going on later to the *Book of Sentences* of Peter Lombard, which, comprising as it did a complete treatise on theology, with abundant quotations from the Fathers of the Church, formed a small library in itself. That college life was somewhat strenuous in those days can be gathered from the manuscript memoirs of Henry de Mesmes, a mediæval scholar who committed his experiences to writing.

“I was sent to the College of Burgundy,” he

says, “ with my brother and a tutor, chosen for the innocence of his life and his suitable age to preside over my early years, until I should be old enough to govern myself. I was put into the third class, and I afterwards spent almost a year in the first. My father said he had two motives for thus sending me to the college—the one was the cheerful and innocent conversation of the boys, and the other was the school discipline, by which he trusted that we should be weaned from the over-fondness that had been shown us at home, and purified, as it were, in fresh water. Those eighteen months I passed at college were of great service to me. I learnt to recite, to dispute, and to speak in public ; and I became acquainted with several excellent men, many of whom are still living. I learnt, moreover, the frugality of the scholar’s life, and how to portion out my day to advantage, so that by the time I left I had repeated in public abundance of Latin, and two thousand Greek verses, which I had written after the fashion of boys of my age, and I could repeat Homer from one end to the other. . . . I was thus well received

by the chief men of my time, to some of whom my tutor introduced me. In 1545 I was sent to Toulouse with my tutor and brother, to study law under an old grey-haired professor, who had travelled half over the world. There we remained for three years, studying severely, and under such strict rules as I fancy few persons nowadays would care to comply with. We rose at four, and having said our prayers, went to lectures at five, with our great books under our arms and our ink-horns and candlesticks in our hands. We attended at the lectures until ten o'clock, without intermission ; then we went to dinner, after having hastily collated during half an hour what our master had written down. After dinner, by way of diversion (!), we read Sophocles, or Aristophanes, or Euripides, and sometimes Demosthenes, Tully, Virgil and Horace. At one we were at our studies again, returning home to repeat and turn to the places quoted in our books till past six. Then came supper, after which we read some Greek or Latin author. On feast days we heard Mass and Vespers, and the rest of the day we were allowed

a little music and walking. Sometimes we went to see our friends, who invited us much oftener than we were allowed to go. The rest of the day we spent in reading, and we generally had with us some learned men of that time.”*

It is interesting to note that this drastic treatment turned out a very fine man.

It was probably to the enterprise of Bishop Elphinstone that Scotland owed her earliest compulsory Education Act, passed in 1496, by which “ all barons and freeholders of substance ” were required to send their eldest sons to school at the age of eight or nine, and to keep them at the Grammar School “ till they be competently founded and have perfect Latin.” They were then to remain three years at the schools of Art and Law, in order that the poor might have the benefit of local administration of justice in minor cases. This ordinance applied particularly to the North, where, as we have seen, the barons were not enthusiastic in the matter of the education of their children. The training would, of course, be most precious in later life for men

* *Christian Schools and Scholars*, Drane.

who had frequently to settle matters of dispute among their relations and dependants.

The Chapel built by the Bishop for his new University is said to have been unrivalled in all Scotland for its beauty. Boece's description, we must remember, is that of one who was familiar with every stone in the building, and he certainly conjures up a fair picture.

"In the college," he says, "there is a church, floored with polished and squared stones, with windows, fine carved work, seats for the use of the priests, and benches for the boys, made with wonderful art,* marble altars, images of the saints, statues and pictures gilt with gold; chairs of brass; hangings and carpets to cover the walls and floor, that the whole might appear more splendid. It was also magnificently decorated with much other precious furniture. The furnishings used for sacred functions consist of

* "It may be said that there is no woodwork in Scotland capable of a moment's comparison with the stalls of King's College; nor will any English specimens rival them." *Antiquities*, Billings.

The High Altar in the old Cathedral of St Machar was "a piece of the finest workmanship of anything of the kind in Europe." *Account of the East Coast*, Douglas (quoted by Billings). The altar was hewed to pieces in 1649, by order, and with the aid of, the parish minister.

fifteen vestments of cloth of gold, known as copes, chasubles, and tunics (dalmatics), and twenty-eight of velvet. All these were embroidered with a warp of golden threads, and had pictures of the saints woven into them, the colours used being scarlet, purple and blue. Seven of fine linen were interwrought with palm leaves. These had fringes of golden threads with golden stars scattered over them.* Other twenty, also of linen, showed palm branches and a watered pattern.† These were for the use of the boys in their sacred duties, that their attendance on the priests might add to the dignity of the praise of God. Besides these, for everyday use, there were many sacred vestments of scarlet and of watered linen.

“ There were also a crucifix, two candlesticks, the same number of censers, an incense-boat, six altar cruets, eight chalices, a textuary, two monstrances for holding the Host, in which the Body of Christ is carried to be worshipped by

* These were probably albs, altar cloths and cottas, or surplices for the priests.

† Cottas or surplices.

the people* ; another of the same, two cubits high, of incredibly fine workmanship. Besides these were a finger basin, a receptacle for water, a vessel for carrying the holy water, along with a sprinkler. All these were of gold and silver. There were also several cambric cloths, embroidered with gold and various figures, and others of the finest white linen, interwoven with flowers of various colours. With these the altars are covered in time of service. There, too, is a casket of cypress-wood, set with pearls and jewels, and of beautiful workmanship. In it are kept for veneration the holy relics of the saints set in gold and silver.

“The church has a bell-tower of immense height, with a stone arch in the shape of an imperial crown, built with wonderful art, and raised above the leaden roof. It contains thirteen bells, pleasing the ear with sweet and holy melody. All these were the gift of Bishop William.”

The Bishop began to build the magnificent

* The Sacred Host was carried in procession (as now in Catholic Churches) on the Feast of Corpus Christi and other great festivals.

choir of the Cathedral, but the completion of it was left to his successor, Bishop Gavin Dunbar. Elphinstone was now an old man, and the disaster of Flodden broke his heart. He had exerted his strong influence over the King to avert the war with England, but in vain ; the chivalry of James had been aroused by the appeal of the French Queen. “ France was not in such danger as he supposed,” says Rait, “ but he determined to be its saviour. The aged Bishop Elphinstone, a saint and a statesman, tried in vain to persuade him of the folly of intervention ; the tradition of centuries was behind the King, and the voices of the younger barons were, as ever, for war.”* “ Although in his eighty-third year,” says Boece, “ the Bishop still continued to discuss affairs of state as acutely as ever, showing no decay of the mind or of the senses, and preserving his ready memory.” Yet after Flodden he lost his cheery spirit, and was never seen to smile. Hearing of the dissensions which had broken out among the nobles, and being assured that he was the only

* *Scotland.*

man alive who had power to make peace between them, the aged Bishop set out for Edinburgh. He was weak and ailing at the time, and even his valiant spirit could not prevail against the infirmities of the flesh ; six days after he reached the capital it became apparent to all that the end could not be far off. “ The day before his death,” says Boece, “ he went to the Chapel, as usual, discoursing with piety and learning on the religion of Christ, its truth, and the great rewards it holds out to its faithful followers. Feeling too weak to finish the service, he ordered the Holy Body of Christ to be brought to him. He received it prostrate on the ground, with tears, and hands outstretched to Heaven. When he had finished his accustomed prayer before the crucified Saviour, he tried in vain to take some rest. ‘ I have lived a Christian, and a Christian I shall die,’ he said towards the morning, to those who surrounded his bed, and when his feeble spirit could no longer linger here, he called on the name of Jesus, the Saviour, and His Mother until speech failed him. He drew his last breath, not as one in extremity, but as one

taking a divine draught, presaging eternal peace.”* Such was the beautiful end of a beautiful life.

Boece gives us some interesting details of the holy Bishop’s spiritual life, touched in with the loving reverence of one who has lived in close contact with sanctity. “He found delight in the saving commemoration of Christ’s saving sufferings, a topic on which he used to discourse with much learning and devotion. The night before Good Friday he spent in prayer, clad in haircloth, without sleeping. The sweet Name of Jesus was never absent from his thoughts, and day and night, sleeping or waking, was on his lips. Though all but crushed by endless anxieties, he never neglected his religious duties, and neither in his youth nor his old age did he neglect his studies. In the leisure of his old age he took great delight in the Scriptures, the memorials of the Prophets, the Apostles, the interpreters of Holy Writ. He hardly ever dined without noble company, and, while the table was always sumptuous, he himself was abste-

* *Lives of the Bishops of Aberdeen.*

mious, though cheerful of countenance and pleasant in conversation. He loved the company of learned men, music and decent merriment, while he detested all scurrilous talk. His old age was happy and venerable, without moroseness or anxiety, free from peevishness and melancholy. The citizens of Aberdeen long mourned for him as a father, saying sadly that the glory of Aberdeen and their own happiness had passed away with him."

CHAPTER VII

THE OLD TOWN IN ITS GLORY

“ IN Marr lies Aberdine, a famous city, in a manner in two parts divided, to wit in ane auld town and ane new town, and between the twa a field put,” wrote Bishop Leslie in the sixteenth century,* “ but on that syde where founded are the Bishop’s Cathedral, the Chanons’ honourable houses, the alms house or Hospital of the poor, and that ancient Academie and universitie of renown, is meikle mair illustrious and beautiful to behold than the other, whose decore chiefly does consist in nobilitie of gentlemen and merchandes, and deeds of civilitie.” The delicate courtesy with which the good Bishop salves the wound inflicted on the sensibilities of the new town by insinuating that the “ nobilitie ” and “ deeds of civilitie ” of its citizens supply for the

* *History of Scotland*, John Leslie, Bishop of Ross.

beauty that is lacking in its architecture, in comparison to its more splendid sister, the old town, is quite charming.

The Old Town, which had gone on quietly for centuries as little more than a village, its cathedral its only glory, had suddenly sprung into fame.

In 1489 was issued the charter in which James IV., "for the singular devotion that we bear towards the most glorious Virgin Mary, patron of the Cathedral Church of Aberdeen, and for the special favour, zeal and affection that we have towards the Reverend Father in God, William of Elphinstone, Bishop and Prelate of the said Cathedral Church, our much beloved councillor, and for all his faithful and gratuitous service, and for the greater security and ampler liberty of the foresaid city," made and created the city and town of Old Aberdeen a "true and free burgh in barony for ever." It was to have its two public fairs every year, with "all tolls, liberties and privileges as belonging to such fairs and free burghs in barony, and to a city and university."

In 1498 James, having come “to our ripe and perfect age of twenty-five years,” confirmed the charter “granted by us in our tender age,” ordaining that the “said Reverend Father and his successors, Bishops of Aberdon,” should have “full power and liberty of chuseing, appointing, and ordaining yearly the Provost, baillies, Sergeants, and other necessary officers.”

But the Old Town had not yet reached the apex of its short-lived glory. It was waiting for the bishop on whom the cloak of the saintly Elphinstone was to fall, and who was to take up the work that had been left unfinished at his death.

The account of the election of the immediate successor of Bishop Elphinstone gives us a vivid glimpse of that evil which within the next fifty years was to lead to the downfall of the Catholic Church in Scotland. The canons had met in Chapter to elect their new Bishop, when there appeared suddenly and unexpectedly in their midst the Earl of Huntly, chief of the Gordons, the most powerful clan in the North, “*entreating*” them to appoint as Bishop-elect his kins-

man, Alexander Gordon, Chanter of Moray. He pointed out to them the great advantage to the cause of religion in Aberdeen, if in such troubled times one were chosen *who could support it by the forces and resources of his friends*. The Gordons were at this time all-powerful in the North, and Aberdeen had reason to know that it was an ill thing to be at feud with the surrounding nobles ; moreover, the “ entreaty ” of Huntly had the force of arms behind it. “ The Canons,” says Boece, “ yielding to the evil times, lest they should have to submit to even harsher treatment, unanimously conceded his demands.” The new Bishop fell ill almost immediately after his nomination, and died after a lingering illness of three years, during which time no steps were taken to carry out the last injunctions of Bishop Elphinstone as to the buildings he had begun. The canons, unhampered this time, elected as their Bishop Gavin Dunbar, Dean of Moray and Archdeacon of St Andrews, a man of learning and of holy life. He was, moreover, a friend and an ardent admirer of his saintly predecessor in the See, and his first act as Bishop was the erec-

tion of a beautiful monument to his memory. The choice seems to have been a most popular one, for all the town, as well as the surrounding gentry, turned out to meet him on his arrival at Aberdeen. "Bells were rung," says Boece, "fifes and trumpets played." He was met by a procession of monks, canons and priests, arrayed in their sacred vestments, and followed by the Rector of the College with a great procession of learned men. Thus was he escorted to his Cathedral, where he was greeted by the sweet harmony of voice and organ. "The walls glowed with rich tapestry," says Boece, who has a wonderful way of conjuring up in a few words any scene at which he himself was present, "the floors were covered with carpets, clouds of fragrant incense were shed from censers, there was no person or thing in Aberdeen that did not seem in its own way to publish abroad its joy." The Bishop seems to have stopped on his way at other churches—probably St Nicholas' among the number—for Boece says that whenever he entered a church he was greeted with the same ovation. When the "sacred rites" (Boece is

probably alluding to the consecration) were over, one of the members of the college (undoubtedly himself) "congratulated the Bishop in a long and eloquent speech," in which he mentioned the fact that on the announcement of his election a public meeting had been called to return thanks to God. "For we knew then that a distinguished ruler had been chosen for us, who, if we have suffered any loss or indignity in these troubled times, will compensate us for all." He calls upon the citizens of Aberdeen to rejoice, for "this is no lifeless head, but one which will pour vital force into all the other members, who will rouse the slumberers and chide the sluggards."

The Bishop seems to have fully justified their expectations. "He was ever distinguished for his faithful and consistent character," says Boece. "He was the patron of the studious, the censor of crimes, the upholder of justice." Unfortunately, Boece's *Lives of the Bishops of Aberdeen* were published soon afterwards, and we have no such record of Bishop Dunbar as that of Bishop Elphinstone. He mentions, however, with what

zeal the new Bishop took up the work inaugurated by his predecessor, and that in all he did he had recourse to the advice and skill of Alexander Galloway, who had been Elphinstone's right hand in all his enterprises, as well as his most intimate friend.* He completed the bridge over the Dee, devoting large sums of money to the work, and built at the end of it a little chapel dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, where travellers might hear an early Mass in the morning before setting out on their journey, or give thanks at their safe return. Such bridge-chapels were common in the Middle Ages. He erected the south aisle of the Cathedral and put up the beautiful emblazoned ceiling, the work of James Winter, an Angus man, and so excellently executed that "scarce any like it is to be seen in this kingdom."† He built, with money left

* Alexander Galloway was a Canon of the Cathedral, as well as Rector of Kinkell. "Manifold was the service he rendered to the Church," wrote Bishop Stewart. "Bishops Elphinstone and Dunbar," says Watt (*County Hist. of Aberdeen and Banff*), "had no worthier nor more competent assistant in the execution of the undertakings by which they elevated the standard of taste in the community and worthily provided for the seat of learning and culture which they established."

† Gordon of Rothiemay.

for the purpose by Bishop Elphinstone, the south quarter of the college, completing the houses of the "severall professors therein." He brought out of far countries beautiful vestments, wrought in gold and silver, chalices, some all of fine gold, images of gold and silver. Amongst his gifts to his Cathedral, Orem mentions a chalice of pure gold, with its paten, set with three pointed diamonds and two great rubies, a great eucharist (monstrance) "double over-gilt and artificially wrought," a "silver cross, part over-gilt," and "a book with the written evangel, of which the outer side is silver, double over-gilt." This latter is probably the beautiful *Epistolare de tempore et de Sanctis* which was compiled and written at Antwerp under the Bishop's direction and at his expense, for the use of his Cathedral, and which is still preserved in the University.

For the service of God in the Cathedral, Bishop Dunbar gave beautiful and costly vestments, copes of cloth of gold, of embroidered velvet and damask, antependiums for the altar of gold, velvet and silk, chasubles and dalmatics of cloth of gold, velvet and silk, embroidered in gold with

raised work, "knapped and pirmed," banners for processions, veils of brocaded silk, brocaded curtains and arras-work for the choir in red, green, white and blue.

Even the little chapel of "Our Lady of the Brig" had its treasures of altar plate and vestments. Here for a time was kept the famous wooden statue of Our Lady of Aberdeen, removed later by Bishop Dunbar to the Cathedral, and one of the few treasures rescued at the time of the Reformation. It was carried off by the Procurator of the King of Spain, and is now, bearing still upon it the marks of the blows of the iconoclastic crew who attacked the town in 1560, at the Church of St Finisterre in Brussels. It was probably to replace this statue, on its removal to the Cathedral, that in 1530 "Sir William Ray, formerly chaplain to Our Lady's Chapel of the Brig of Dee," gave "a chalice of silver and an image of silver of Our Lady, both gilt, for the utility and profit of the said chapel."

The Cathedral, now completed, must have been a thing of rare beauty, and its services, under that master of sacred music, John Malison,

solemn and stately.* “In the Catholic Church,” says a modern writer, “music is not merely an accessory, but an integral part of the ritual, words and music together form a complete artistic whole. The ritual of the Catholic Church is fixed, because the idea is fixed of which ritual is the outward manifestation. Ritual bears as natural and inevitable a relation to faith as the gesture does to feeling; the material manifestation, it is true, but a necessary one to the normal creature, who, being not yet a pure spirit, possesses no other means of expression. As ritual without faith becomes a lie, so faith without ritual is ineffective, a talent buried in the earth. So long as we remain human beings, the spiritual must take an outward form—of word, of gesture, of action—that it may be part of our nature. Even God became man that He might be fully apprehensible to His creatures. He translated Himself into terms of the tangible, which is indeed the sacramental principle.

“The liturgy of the Church serves a twofold purpose—to pray and to teach. There is no

* See Appendix A.

emotion more intense than religious emotion, but its intensity is along other lines than those of worldly emotion. The same is true of religious music.”*

What was it after all—this building of fair cathedrals and churches, this bringing from afar of all the beautiful and precious things that the ingenuity of man could furnish for their decoration—but the translation of the personal love of man for his Creator and Redeemer into the terms of the tangible? Was it a mistaken notion, this beautifying of God’s House? Was it false, this old human but God-given instinct that led Solomon to gather together all that was loveliest in the world to “build a house to the Lord”? The cherubim of image-work, overlaid with gold, the veils of violet, purple, scarlet and silk, the golden candlesticks, the vessels for the perfumes, the censers, the walls carved with divers figures, standing out and coming forth from the wall, the cherubim and palm trees?

“The carvings, the pictures, the statues, formed an integral part of the education of the

* *The Reform in Church Music*, Justine Bayard Ward.

people. The great crucifix brought home to them the story of the Passion, as it still does to the unlettered peasant in Catholic countries ; the statue of the Blessed Virgin, bearing the Child Jesus in her arms, reminded them of the momentous truth that ' the Word was made Flesh.' For the ordinary believer, praying in his accustomed place in the church, there rose over the incense clouds shrouding the priest at the altar, there shone through the gleaming lights of the windows, a mighty company of the unseen, showing the way to Heaven, ready to give their suffering for his gain, and out of their peace to aid him in his peril. They came from all lands, though they spoke but one language, that of thanksgiving, pity, aspiration, trust. Among these he felt a strange familiarity ; to their guidance he yielded himself without reserve ; their aid he invoked for those most dear to him, and for the sorrowing and helpless everywhere ; moreover, with them lay the testimonies of truth, for they had suffered and overcome. What he believed had been learned by them through the sword and the Cross, the martyrs had written

in their blood the articles of his creed. And so faith and endeavour were not of himself alone, they were of the Church, which through all ages, among angels, spirits, men, remained the same, yesterday, to-day, and for ever.”*

And all these things, the treasures of art, the precious vessels of gold and silver, the vestments rich with embroidery, were for all a common possession. “The peasantry of the remotest hamlets,” says Bridgett,† “while cherishing their own parish church, and proud of its silver cross for Good Friday and its banners for procession days, the gifts of their own humble forefathers, could, without travelling beyond their native country, visit the great abbey or cathedral on a feast-day and gaze freely upon inestimable riches, which bishops, nobles and monarchs had presented during the course of centuries. Of all these things the bishops or the abbots were but the guardians, just as the parish priest and the church wardens were the guardians of the sacristy of the parish church. The poor bonds-

* Carpenter (quoted by Bridgett in *History of the Blessed Sacrament in England*).

† *History of the Blessed Sacrament in England*.

man possessed them as much as the clergy or the nobles. It has been well said that throughout the Middle Ages works of art were to the people free as the light of heaven and the loveliness of nature—to declare, like them, the glory of God, and excite the piety of His people.”

Bishop Dunbar was not less zealous for his University than for his Cathedral. “In these days,” says Ferrerius, “owing to the galaxy of learned men at Aberdeen, the University was then the most celebrated of all in Scotland.” The wonderful harmony and musical quality of the bells of the college, it is said, were such that they might call the very stones to prayer by the sweetness of their melody. In the great tower there were five—Trinitas, Maria, Michael, Gabriel and Raphael. Besides these there were five smaller ones for striking the half hours—two for daily use, and three in the chapel itself.

In the inventory of the ornaments belonging to the chapel, drawn up by the Rector in his visitation in 1542, we find the “altar of the venerable Sacrament, built by the Rector of Kinkell, with a place (*locus*) for the sacrament

of pyramidal form, given by the same Rector. Amongst the gifts of Bishop Gavin Dunbar to the high altar was a veil, ‘most magnificent,’ of very fine linen of a light blue colour, handsomely embroidered with gold, together with wooden supports and rods, beautifully painted, with iron keys to guide these supports to the sacrament-house, with balls decorated with gold* ; together with a table for carrying the venerable Sacrament, with antependia decorated with letters of gold and scriptures, embroidered as befits the House of God.”

For the services of the college chapel special rules were laid down. “We will and ordain,” says the Bishop, in the document published in 1531,† “that there should be in this college eight prebendaries in priestly orders, charged with the Gregorian chant, well instructed and

* This must have been a baldacchino.

† This distinct and copious work appears to have been the joint production of men eminent for their learning at the time. It is dated the 8th December 1529, beautifully written on ten leaves of vellum, and subscribed by Bishop Gavin Dunbar ; by the Dean and Canons of the Cathedral Church ; and by Principal Boece ; Arthur Boece, Canonist ; Robert Gray, Doctor of Medicine ; William Hay, Sub-Principal ; and John Vaus, Grammarian. The great Seal of the Bishop is appended to it. *Annals of Aberdeen*, Kennedy.

skilful in this matter if it be possible. Also four youths, or poor boys, who are skilful in the Gregorian chant, for the chanting on Sundays and Feast days, on which all servile work is to be abstained from. That they should chant matins, vespers, and the other hours, both greater and lesser, and that they should chant the celebration of Mass, all being present, and each one, including the Masters and Doctors, should wear the robes suited to their rank and profession. Likewise all are to be present at the chanting of the office, as well as at the Mass."

The duties of the sacristan were clearly defined. He was to "ring the bells daily at five o'clock A.M. for Matins." "And the bells shall be rung each quarter of an hour till six A.M., when on all Sundays and Feast days Matins shall be begun and completed, in the Name of the Lord.

"Moreover, on the right days the bells shall be rung for the chanting of the Mass in honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary, which we will shall be chanted by the Cantor and the four youths. Mass shall also be sung at nine A.M. by one of the

six lesser prebendaries ; the bells shall be rung, and again at one P.M. for vespers.

“ The sacristan is to dress the altars with candelabra, lit candles and lamps. He is to take care of the books, chalices and other vestments and ornaments for the daily service. Also, after Masses, he is to fold, put away and cleanse everything, and he shall direct everything and practise everything which pertains to the beauty of the House of God.”

“ We order and exhort all at six o'clock every evening, after Vespers and before supper, to say a *Salve Regina* with antiphon and collect. Also the *Angelus* and the *Antiphon*, the ‘*Sub tuum Protectionem*’ and the collect ‘*Gratiam tuam*,’ with the great bell rung at intervals for a quarter of an hour, about six o'clock, with the organ and singing, and we order that all and every one be present—prebendaries, Doctors, Masters, students—and that all sing devoutly.

“ At grace, after the refreshment of the body, we will that prayers be said for the welfare and safety of the Church, the King and kingdom, and of the Founders.”

“ We decree, or, in virtue of holy obedience, we order that every day after Vespers a salutation shall be made to the Blessed Virgin Mary, at which Vespers all are bound to be present, as well as at the salutation . . . and that on solemn festivals and on Saturdays,* Vespers being finished, they should leave the choir two by two, preceded by one of the boys carrying holy water, and should pass down the nave of the church, singing the *Salve Regina* or some other antiphon, accompanied by the organ. Which being finished by a collect or prayer, all turning towards the east shall sing another antiphon to the Cross, to the Blessed Virgin, or to some patron Saint. When this is over, all bending their knee, shall salute the Blessed Virgin three times with the angelic salutation, ‘ Hail, full of

* “ In the days of our forefathers,” says Fordun (or Bower, who continued his history), “ the Sabbath, *i.e.*, Saturday, was held in great veneration, in honour of the Blessed Virgin. Therefore the faithful on this day, inflamed with zeal for Mary, to please her Son, keep a solemn office to His most gracious Mother. They sing also her Mass with the *Gloria in Excelsis*.

“ Let each of us see whether he has the affection of a good son towards this Mother, rejoicing more in her honour than his own, and feeling her dishonour more than his own shame. But if a sinner can thus love Mary, how much more does her innocent Son Jesus, the God of Charity.”

Grace,' with nine peals of bells. All present shall be sprinkled with holy water at the ceremony of the Asperges—and thus shall the day's office be finished.

“As we have founded this college, we request and exhort, through the bowels of Jesus Christ our Saviour and the Blessed Virgin Mary His Mother, by the same charity, that they (his successors) should be pious pastors and defenders and preservers of the goods, persons and benefices of the same college, lest rapacious wolves attack it and its flock. And by so doing we hope that they may obtain, through Our Saviour and His Mother Mary, an immense reward and glory in Heaven.”

“Amid all his public works,” wrote Boece of Dunbar, “he neglects not the cause of religion, but earnestly strives to have the service of God duly performed, and the priests men of virtue and good life.”

“This Bishop,” says Leslie, in his *History of Scotland*, “was a man worthie of all honour, if honour may be referred to piety in defending our countrie, to liberalitie in sustaining the poor,

to justice in execution of matters, or to singular virtue in all affairs. How large was his liberality when a hospital he erected to sustain twelve poor men, when a rent ample and sufficient he laid thereto for a perpetual benefice, when he directed a man to take up the rents, to have a care of the hospital, and to the poor therein to be as a father. . . . The fame and common speaking of him in this: that, while he was thirteen years bishop, what he gathered of the Bishopric, ilk pennie he spendit upon these three—the kirk, the country, and the poor, and put not one farthing to any private use or to the profit of his own.”

From a man's deeds we can gather some idea of his character, but the picture is apt to be colourless. There exists, however, a document in which we get a glimpse of the Bishop's beautiful soul, and which is, on that account, worth quoting :—

“Gavin Dunbar, by the mercy of God bishop of the cathedral church of Aberdeen, wishes to all the sons of the holy Mother Church, who shall see or hear this present letter, Salvation in Him



BISHOP GAVIN DUNBAR.

[To face p. 150.]

who is the true weal of all men. It is quite evident that all prelates of the Church are not the owners of its patrimony, but the guardians and dispensers thereof. And whatever is left of the fruits of the Church to any prelate, after satisfying the necessities of the Church and his own life, the prelate is bound to bestow it on the poor, and devote it to pious purposes. Feeling that when something is left, after supplying the needs of the Church and our own life, and, remembering the words of Almighty God—‘ Give of thy bread to the hungry, and take the poor and the wandering under the shelter of thy house, and clothe the naked,’ we, moved by these words, think it is not enough for obtaining blessedness that we should add to the number of ministers, in order to increase divine worship, and to come to the help of the state, but that the work which is of real value is supporting the poor according to the divine command, by giving them food and clothing. We desired, therefore, by means of a new charitable constitution, to obtain some help towards earning the divine favour by relieving the want of the Christian poor, and supporting

them, and we have resolved to make, construct and found a hospital near the cathedral church, but outside the cemetery, and to endow it."

The hospital was to be provided with an oratory, common room, rooms for the twelve poor men, and a bell-tower, every detail, down to the fires in winter, being provided for.

"We give, concede, assign, and by this our present charter confirm to Almighty God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, the most blessed Virgin Mary, Mother of Our Lord Jesus Christ our Redeemer, and the twelve poor men residing in our said hospital, and their successors, the hundred pounds of annual income from rents and revenues, etc., to be divided and distributed among the poor men by the director and conservator of the hospital.

"We wish, moreover, that the poor men shall pray daily for the felicitous and prosperous state of our lord the King, and for his soul, and for the souls of his predecessors and successors, and also for our soul and the souls of our parents, etc., and for all the faithful in Christ."

The poor men were to be selected preferably

from among the inhabitants of Old Aberdeen, or those who had spent their lives “in the work of constructing the Church, the buildings surrounding it, and the bridge of Dee.” The order of day that they were to follow was clearly laid down. In case of sickness—the Bishop seems to have thought of everything—the director was “to place the sick man in a room near the oratory, so that, by a window, he may be able to see and hear a Mass.”*

One of the witnesses to this document was “our beloved familiar Master William Stewart” who was to succeed Bishop Dunbar in the See of Aberdeen. It was during his episcopate that King James V. and his Queen, Mary of Guise, attended by their suite of courtiers, paid a visit to the North and were hospitably entertained in the college buildings for a fortnight. The Queen had lately lost her two little sons, and the journey was probably undertaken to divert her mind from its sorrow. John Leslie, later Bishop of Ross, who was one of the prebendaries at the time, tells us in his history that the royal visitors

* *Records of Old Aberdeen.*

were welcomed “ with divers triumphs and plays, and that there was exercise and disputations in all kinds of sciences in the colleges and schools, with divers orations made in Greek, Latin, and other languages, which was meikle commended by the King and Queen and all their company.”

Bishop Stewart held the See of Aberdeen for twelve years. Spottiswood calls him “ a man given to virtue, charitable to the poor, and ready to every good work.”

CHAPTER VIII

THE REFORMATION IN THE NORTH

WE have already caught a few glimpses of the great evil that was threatening the existence of the Church in Scotland. Here and there, in the narrative of Boece, we come to a sentence suggestive of prevalent abuses and the need of a strong hand at the helm in a time that had its own peculiar difficulties. "The sixteenth century," says Brewer, "was an age instinct with vast animal life, robust health, and muscular energy, terrible in its rude and unrefined appetites, its fiery virtues and fierce passions." A wave of gross materialism was undoubtedly passing over the whole of Europe, the settling of the dregs of the Renaissance, which, with its cult of the classics of Greece and Rome, its worship of bodily beauty and mental vigour, had brought with it a certain tendency to pagan ideals and morals. Yet, as Brewer says, "it was not a

mass of moral corruption, out of which life emerged by some process unknown to art and nature ; it was not an addled egg cradling a living bird." Good and evil, as always, were struggling together for the mastery ; the sixteenth century could boast, like every age, its wise, great and holy men. Good was more definitely good, perhaps, and evil more definitely evil ; the blacks and whites in the picture were in stronger contrast ; the ideal of a decent respectability had not yet come into being. Passions were strong, and government, whether of Church or State, had to be strong too ; it was not the time for idleness in office.

Yet idleness in office was an evil terribly prevalent in the Church, and particularly the Church in Scotland. The people were not only uninstructed, but the example set before them by those ordained to lead them in the ways of God was, in many cases, one that hindered rather than helped them in the spiritual life. The disastrous bestowal of Church dignities on men wholly unworthy of them had been increasing steadily since the Decree of 1457, which confirmed

to the Crown the unconditional right of presenting to benefices during the vacancy of an episcopal See. Laymen, often mere boys, were promoted to the charge of a religious house or diocese, in which they were supposed to support a deputy to do their work, the obligation being more often neglected than fulfilled. The nobles, also, as we have already seen, did not scruple to interfere at the election of bishops and abbots, such interference being usually in favour of their own relations. The abuses resulting from this custom, prevalent at the time to a certain extent all over Europe, can be seen in the writings of the period—histories, satires and lamentations of both laymen and clerics.

Leslie, in his *History of Scotland*, speaks of the “foul slander that infected monasteries and monks through all Scotland, when secular persons began to have place in cloisters and dominion in religious places; laymen craving to be kirkmen, to possess the kirk livings.” “Then,” says he, “there crap in idleness, deliciousness and all bodily pleasure, with feltirte (entanglement) in worldly affairs. Then

God's service began to be neglected and cool . . . and what cloisters respected maist was worldly wealth. Now what laid up was to help the miseries of the poor is given to satisfy the voluptuousness of the rich. The monks now elect not abbots that godlie is and devout, but kings choose abbots who are lustiest and most in favour with them. Through this, committed by the seculars, the kirkmen incurred the hatred and envy of the common people."

The statement of the Catholic historian of the sixteenth century is corroborated by that of one of the most noted of our Protestant historians of the present day.

"Knox had only to keep his eyes and ears open," says Andrew Lang,* "to observe the clerical ignorance and corruption which resulted in great part from the Scottish habit of securing wealthy Church offices for ignorant, brutal and licentious younger sons and bastards of noble families. This practice in Scotland was as odious to good Catholics, like Quintin Kennedy, Ninian Winzet, and, rather earlier, to Ferrerius, as to

* *History of Scotland.*

Knox himself. The prevalent anarchy caused by the long minorities of the Stuart Kings, the interminable wars with England, and the difficulty of communications with Rome, had enabled the nobles thus to rob and deprave the Church, and so to provide themselves with moral reasons good for robbing her again ; as a punishment for the iniquities which they had themselves introduced."

" Were I Pope," answered Sir Thomas More to one who had suggested that the Church was to blame for the evils of the times, " I could not well devise better provisions than by the laws of the Church are provided already, *if they were but as well kept as they are well made.*"

Although modern historians are for the most part agreed that the Reformation in Scotland was a political rather than a religious movement,* the condition of affairs in the Church

* " A parliament, illegally summoned, had changed the religion of the country, and substituted one series of dogmas for another." *Scotland*, Rait.

" The flood increased in destructiveness as it descended. It ceased to be Reform ; it grew to be Revolution."

" The Congregation gradually became the focus of political disaffection as well as of religious animosity. They produced authorities from Holy Writ for sedition and rebellion as well as for murder." *Maitland of Lethington*, Skelton.

most certainly afforded a pretext for attack. Even in Aberdeen, where a succession of wise and holy Bishops had shown what the Churchmen of the Middle Ages were able to effect for the good of their people, religion was growing cold. Another Gordon* held the See, and was dragging his holy office in the dust by a notoriously shameful life.

The canons seem to have made efforts to repair the evils arising from the Bishop's neglect of his duties. In 1547 they had admitted a new canon

"The Scottish Reformation was a social and economic much more than a religious revolution. . . . It drew its chief inspiration by no means from the sins and shortcomings of the old Church." *Social England*, Colville.

"Partly by dint of political circumstances and jealousy of France, partly by aid of reforming sympathies, the Scots leaned at last towards England, and so a band of nobles, gentry, educated burghesses, and 'rascal multitude,' as Knox says, were to overthrow a Church weakened by wealth, ignorance and vice." *History of Scotland*, Andrew Lang.

"But the hour had passed when the mere reform of life and doctrine would have sufficed to meet the desires of the new spiritual teachers. As was speedily to be seen, it was revolution and not reform on which these new teachers were bent, with an ever-growing confidence that their triumph was not far off." *History of Scotland*, Hume Brown.

"That any set of men may rebel and take their chances is now recognised, but the Reformers wanted to combine the advantages of rebellion with the reputation of loyal subjects." *John Knox and the Reformation*, Andrew Lang.

* Had there been a repetition of the scene at an earlier election?

without prebend, to lecture on theology in the Cathedral and to preach to the people in the churches whose patronages and revenues belonged to the Chapter. In 1559, when the Bishop, alarmed at last by the accounts of what was going on in the south, asked the advice of his Chapter as to the steps to be taken for the reform of abuses and the suppression of heresy, they drew up a Memorial, imploring him to fulfil his obligations as a Bishop, to ensure that the people were instructed in the Faith, and that the clergy led good lives and preached more frequently. The Memorial ended with an earnest entreaty to the Bishop to show a good and edifying example himself by amending his manner of life, since many people were saying that they would not accept counsel and correction from one who would not correct himself. Further entreaties to put an end to an open scandal, and to keep more decent company, reveal the depths to which the successor of Elphinstone and Dunbar had fallen.

Although this shameful state of things must be frankly acknowledged, the fact remains that

Bishop Gordon had only been sixteen years in office, and many men were still living who could remember his glorious predecessors. Such prelates as Gordon were, in Aberdeen at least, very notable exceptions to the rule. Hence the fulminations against the Church and her representatives, which found so ready a hearing in the South, raised no enthusiasm in the Northern city.

“The inhabitants of Aberdeen,” says the author of *The Book of Bon-Accord*, “manifested little ardour in the cause of the Reformation; nor was a church robbed or a monastery sacked, until their more zealous neighbours in Angus and the Mearns made a Protestant raid into the burgh, and commenced the godly work of destruction.”

Of course there was an element, as there is in every town, ready to join in any lawless undertaking, and the men of Angus and the Mearns found a certain number of recruits in the city,*

* Orem, in a spirit which proves him to have been before his time—or after it—disclaims for the men of Old Aberdeen the glory of having lent a hand in the destruction of what he calls “the glorious structure of the said Cathedral Church.” He expressly states that it was “some of the townsmen of *New Aberdeen* who accompanied the barons of the Mearns in their iconoclastic proceedings.”

but, on the whole, it took some time to persuade the logical Aberdonians that the long line of Bishops, of whom they had every reason to be proud, were “rotten Papists, rank idolaters and sworn enemies of Jesus Christ,” and that the Faith in which their forefathers had lived and died was made up of superstition and idolatry.

“The immediate heralds of the Reformation whom we see in Aberdeen,” says Mr Cooper, “were a lawless band of spoilers and destroyers.”*

On the 29th of December 1559 the Provost of Aberdeen, Thomas Menzies, gave warning to the assembled burgesses that certain men from the surrounding districts “are to be in this town this present day to caste down the kirks and religious places thereof, under colour and pretence of godlie reformation. This town has no direction of the authority of Scotland to assist and concur with them in that purpose, but the same is express contrary to the will and mynd of the authority, and manifest treason.” The protest was signed by many of the citizens.

* *Preface to the Chartulary of St Nicholas Church, New Spalding Club.*

The expected onset took place that very day. The spire of St Nicholas Church was first attacked by the rabble, whose godly efforts to tear down that monument of idolatry were thwarted by the indignant townsmen. Such spirited resistance had not been expected, and no further aggression was attempted till a few days later, when, reinforced by a fresh contingent of reformers from the South, the iconoclasts fell upon and demolished the Dominican, Carmelite and Trinitarian monasteries, having first carried off everything of value on which they could lay their hands. The Church of the Grey Friars was saved from total ruin by the citizens, who once more intervened.

On January 12th the Provost made another protest against the destruction of religious houses and the employment of preachers "contra the common weal of this good town," as being "done first by extraneous persons and some dwelling within the town, but in which the hail community was nocht participant, but for the most part innocent and free of the said cryme." Therefore the said Thomas Menzies, Provost,

dissented "for himself and his adherents to all destruction and dissipation of the said kirks and places, and applying of the same or any part thereof to the uses of the town, or employing or bestowing of the town's common good on the said preachers."

Thomas Menzies, however, did not possess the courage and strength necessary to the champion of a falling cause. He trimmed his sails to the wind, and remained in office.*

* A motion was passed later in Council to sell the altar plate, etc., belonging to St Nicholas Church, which had been consigned to a place of safety, the profits to go to "the public good." The craftsmen, says Bain in his *Merchant and Craft Guilds*, had their suspicions as to the interpretation that had been put on that plausible designation by the Council, for a little later they "required them to answer before the Privy Council of Scotland to a charge of dilapidating, alienating and appropriating to themselves for their own profit, use and emolument, the common good, lands, revenues and property of the Burgh," more particularly *inter alia*, "for sharing among themselves the whole plate, furniture and plenishing of St Nicholas Church, viz. :—

"8 chandeliers of fine silver, 8 chalices and other patens, 2 Eucharists (monstrances) and other silver utensils amounting to 40 lbs. of weight. Also 52 brass chandeliers, a great latron (lectern) of massy brass within the choir, wherein the Evangel was read, in form of pelican and her birds, weighing 520 lbs. of fine brass; also five new stands of Kapis (copes) of fine gold, and three inferior ones; also 10 stands of fine Mass clothes of gold, crimson, green, black and purple velvet, starred with gold, with their chasubles; several other fine latrons belonging to the various altars, etc., also a pair of fine organs complete and perfect; also 10 pairs of hangings, before the various altars, of crimson velvet and satin, 'drapped with gold and golden letters,' etc." *Convener Court Papers*. Whether the charge was pursued, history does not tell.

The mob, in the meantime, hoping for more booty, had proceeded to the Old Town and attacked the University, but the building was so courageously defended by the Principal, Alexander Anderson, assisted by the professors and students, that the plunderers were obliged to retire. They then went on to the Cathedral, where they seized everything of value they could find,* stripped the lead off the roof, tore the bells from out the great tower, hewed the beautiful altar-screen in pieces, desecrated the tombs of Bishops Elphinstone and Dunbar, carrying off the twelve figures of gilded bronze that decorated the former, demolished the chancel, and were trying to tear down the whole building, when the appearance of the Earl of Huntly, accompanied by Leslie of Balquhain, Sheriff of the county, put a check to their enthusiasm. Aided by the eloquent pleading of John Leslie, official of the Cathedral, the two nobles, who were probably attended by a considerable following, succeeded in driving off the rabble, but the

* A good deal of the Church plate had been consigned to the keeping of the Earl of Huntly, or distributed among the Canons.

magnificent Cathedral, the work of centuries of loving labour, was all but in ruins. What remained of it was afterwards patched up, and having been reduced, as far as was possible, to the semblance of a barn—the Reformers' ideal of a place of worship—resounded to the interminable sermons of zealous ministers of the Word.

The altar plate, lead and bells, together with the rest of the stolen goods, were entrusted by the plunderers to a certain William Birnie, who was to ship the treasure to Holland, where it was to be sold. "By the just judgment of Heaven on such sacrilegious work," says the chronicler of these events, "the ship had scarcely left the harbour when a fearful storm arose. It went down about half a mile off the Girdleness, and William Birnie with it."

Gordon of Rothiemay, in his *Description of Old Aberdeen*, alludes to the Cathedral Library. "There was also in this Church a library," he says, "but about the year 1560 all the books were destroyed or stolen. The greater part of the library was burnt, for in almost every

volume there were rubrics, *savouring of superstition*, and it was committed to the avenging flames."

The University, saved by the presence of mind and courage of the Principal and his staff, seems to have gone quietly on its way for a time unmolested. No reference is made to it until 1561, when the fact that it was still a centre of the old Faith attracted the attention of the ministers, whose party was now all-powerful. The matter having been discussed at the General Assembly, Principal Anderson and John Leslie, Professor of Canon Law, were summoned to Edinburgh to answer for their conduct. Knox describes Anderson as "a man more crafty and subtill than either learned or godlie," but this may be considered as a compliment, in the light of the fact that the adjectives, "crafty and subtle," were usually applied by the Reformer to men whose arguments were hard to answer. Anderson and Leslie were put on trial for their adhesion to the Catholic Faith, and in particular for their belief in transubstantiation, the upshot being that they were forbidden to preach and

committed to ward in Edinburgh. They were liberated not long afterwards, or succeeded in making their escape, for they returned to Aberdeen, where they resumed their work, and were left for a time in peace. "In the northern provinces of the kingdom," says Grub, "the Catholics had the predominance, and it appears from a contemporary paper, of undoubted authority, that a third part of the whole Scottish nobility professed the Roman Catholic religion." Huntly, the most powerful chief of the North, and a staunch adherent of the Faith of his fathers, had sent a message to Queen Mary, on the eve of her return to Scotland, that, would she only trust herself to the loyalty of her northern subjects and land at Aberdeen, 20,000 men would meet her there and conduct her in triumph to the capital. Mary elected to land at Edinburgh, a sorrowful landing for her, and Huntly soon after, through the machinations of his enemies and his own independent behaviour, fell into disgrace. His defeat and death at Corrichie deprived the Church of her greatest champion.

In 1568 Adam Heriot, the first minister of Aberdeen, complained that the University was still a nest of Popery, whereon the Assembly petitioned the Regent to take order for its reformation. Moray promised to comply with this request, and Erskine of Dun, a layman, though ecclesiastical superintendent of Angus and the Mearns,* was sent to investigate the matter. In the June of 1569 Principal Anderson and the Sub-Principal, Alexander Galloway, together with Andrew Anderson, Thomas Owsten and Duncan Norrie, regents, were summoned and required to subscribe to the Confession of Faith, to declare their adherence to the true kirk, to submit to its jurisdiction, and to accept the Acts concerning religion of the Parliaments of 1560 and 1567. This, "most obstinately contemning his Grace's most godly admonitions," they steadfastly refused to do, whereupon the Commission, consisting of Erskine of Dun, the Earl of Moray, and the ministers and elders present, "effectually purged that nursery of learning."

* "Erskine of Dun had begun his career by slaying a priest in the bell-tower of Montrose. Erskine's father paid the blood-price, or assythment." *History of Scotland*, Vol. II., Andrew Lang.

The purging consisted in depriving of office and emoluments the Principal and those who stood by him, and driving them out of the University. The Principal was excommunicated.* "It would appear," says Cosmo Innes, "that the members of the college, like the members of the Chapter, were of that party, more numerous than is supposed, who acknowledged and would have willingly corrected some of the corruptions which had crept into the Church, while they were not prepared to take the great leap of the Scotch Reformers." The deprived Principal, says Grub, "was distinguished for his learning and virtue." He was certainly distinguished for his staunchness and courage, qualities in which Alexander Arbuthnot, the first Protestant Principal of the University, seems, according to Bulloch's account,† to have been somewhat lacking.

The Reformation had done its work. The sweet and tuneful melody of the bells no longer called the dwellers in the Old Town to prayer

* The excommunication of the Reformed kirk imposed the most drastic temporal penalties. It amounted practically to outlawry.

† *History of the University of Aberdeen.*

and worship. The voices of the choristers, chanting the old familiar Matins and Vespers, were silenced for ever. The Mass, the very life and centre of Catholic worship, was prohibited by law. The precious embroideries of veil and vestment, wrought by loving fingers for the House of God, were being cut up into waistcoats. The hanging lamp, that of old burned day and night before the altar, had flickered out, never to be relit. The worship of the invisible Presence, of which it was the sign and token, had been stigmatised as idolatry.

A change too—a very notable change—came over the face of “Blythe Aberdeen.” It would have needed more than a poet’s imagination now to see in the northern city “a lamp of beauty, bounty and blythness.”

To the Puritan kirk of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries every outward demonstration of natural good spirits was a sort of sin, to be as far as possible repressed. “After the era of the Reformation,” writes Kennedy,* “the disposition of the people in general seems to have been

* *Annals of Aberdeen.*

gloomy and morose.” “In this puritanical age the people in general seem to have been extremely bigoted ; while men in office assumed a grave and even sanctified demeanour. Theology appears to have been their favourite study, and the object of their thoughts and contemplations. That sanctity was religiously observed by those in the profession of the law is proved by the fact that their writings and public papers were framed and written in a loose and careless manner, which evinced that their speculations were generally engaged in something else than the object before them. On days appropriated to public rejoicing, the people expressed their exultations in psalmody on the street, in imitation of their superiors.” It is difficult sometimes to decide whether Kennedy is unconsciously humorous or intentionally satirical, but the picture of the worthy burgess recreating himself after a hard day’s work by singing psalms in the street is only a degree less charming than that of the godly lawyer, so engrossed by theological problems that he is incapable of drawing up a legal document correctly.

Unfortunately, "psalmody upon the street" covered a good deal that was much less edifying, as is evidenced by the records of the time. According to that of the General Assembly of 1586, the "moral condition of the country was awful—ugly heaps of all kinds of sin lying in every nook and part of it." A comprehensive catalogue of every variety of the seven deadly sins follows. In the seventeenth century the same complaints recur continually. "We find the Commissioners of the General Assembly," says Chambers, "denouncing the enormities and corruptions observed to be in the ministry, and making out a list which is difficult to reconcile with our ideas of the boasted golden age of the Scottish Presbyterian polity."

There was one part of the population, at least, that protested vigorously against recreations composed of psalm singing—namely, the University students and the children. "The Principal of the University," says Spalding, "refused to give play to the students at Yool-day, but they took it at their own hand and the grammarians both, who at last got by composition eight days'

play." The "composition" consisted of the boys of the Grammar School barring out the masters and holding them successfully at bay until they came to terms.

"This year (1642)," says Spalding again, "Yoll day fell upon Sunday. Our minister preached against all merriness, play and pastime. . . . Upon Monday the bell went through the Oldtown, commanding all manner of men to open their booth doors and go to work ; but the students fell upon the bellman and took the bell from him, for giving such an unusual charge ; so the people made good cheer and banqueting, according to their estates, and past their times, Monday and Tuesday both, for all their threatenings."

Spalding gives us an amusing picture of an occurrence on the Christmas Day of this year, which the people had been forbidden to keep.

"Mr Andrew Cant," he says, "sitting this same Yool-day at afternoon's sermon, Mr John Rue preaching in the Old kirk, hearing some noise in the kirkyard of bairns and people, he got up suddenly from his seat, sitting as he ordinarily

used beside the reader ; through the kirk and people goes he, and out at the door, to the great astonishment of the people in the Old kirk ; and when he came to the kirkyard the bairns fled, but he chaced them into the New kirk, whereat the people there were offended ; at last he returned back to his own place, and the people became settled and pacified, but wondered at his light behaviour."

One wonders what the bairns had been doing to provoke such an outburst of ministerial indignation. Had they picked up from their grandmothers a verse or two of the sweet old lilting carol that was such a favourite in the Middle Ages?—

" *In dulce júbilo*
 Let us our homage show,
 Our hearts' joy reclineth
In præsepio."

Were they singing some such blasphemy under the very nose of Mr Cant ? If so, his behaviour was sufficiently explained.

On Candlemas Day, two years later, the children of the Oldtown Grammar School attempted to get up a Candlemas procession on their own

account. They appeared "about the hour of six in the evening, blithely shouting and rejoicing, and carrying lighted candles in their hands." Having marched round the market-cross, and set a burning light on the top of it, they returned home, still bearing their lighted candles. Such proceedings must have been a severe shock to the godly.

It was at this time, under the rule of Principal Guild, who seems to have been an iconoclast of the first order, that what was left of the monuments of mediæval art was almost wholly destroyed. His achievements are chronicled with unconcealed disgust by Spalding, who seems to have been a witness of his misguided zeal.

"About the middle of this month of June," he writes, "Dr Guild, principal, violently breaks down the inside plenishing within the bishop's house, which was left undestroyed before . . . joists and greater timber he cut down. . . . In the same manner he dang down the walls of the Snow Kirk to big the College dykes. . . . Now he is demolishing the bishop's house; pitiful and lamentable to behold! kirks and stately

buildings first to be casten down by ruffians and rascals, and next by churchmen, under colour of religion."

Orem, in his *Old Aberdeen*, chronicles further exploits of the Principal. " Upon August 5th, 1640," he says, " the Earl of Seaforth, the Master of Forbes, Mr John Adamson, Principal of the College of Edinburgh, and the said Dr Guild, with diverse others, held a committee in the King's College ; and thereafter came to St Machar's Church, and caused our blessed Lord Jesus' arms to be hewn out of the front of the pulpit ; and to take down the portrait of the blessed Virgin Mary, and her dear son Jesus in her arms, which had stood since the upsetting thereof in curious work under the ceiling at the west end of the pend, unmoved till then. . . . And besides, where there were any crucifixes set in honest men's glass windows, he caused pull them out ; and a mason struck out Christ's arms in hewn work, on each end of Bishop Dunbar's tomb ; and likewise chiselled out the name of Jesus (drawn cypher-ways, I H S, that is, Jesus Hominem Salvator) of the timber-work on fore-

side of St Machar's aisle, opposite to the consistory door—and the crucifix on the old town cross was turned down."

Two years later he was at it again. "Tuesday, 21st of June," writes Spalding, "was a visitation of our Oldtown kirk by the brethren. . . . They ordained the back of the high altar in Bishop Dunbar's isle, curiously wrought in wainscot, matchless in all the kirks of Scotland, to be dung down, as smelling of popery and idolatry ; pitiful to behold !"*

The actual taking down of the beautiful reredos took place a few months later ; we have a vivid picture of the scene.

"Upon the 16th day of December 1642, Dr Guild and Mr William Strachan, minister of the church (St Machar's), yoked William Charles, wright in Old Aberdeen, to the downtaking of the back of the high altar, standing upon the east wall of bishop Gavin Dunbar's isle, as high nearly as the ceiling thereof, curiously wrought of fine wainscot ; so that within Scotland there was not a better wrought piece. The craftsman

* *History of the Troubles in Scotland, 1624-45.*

would not put his hand to the downtaking thereof till Mr William Strachan, our minister, laid first hand thereto, which he did, and syne the work was begun.”*

Spalding tells us that in the taking down of the three great carved crowns which formed the canopy of the altar, one of them fell and was shattered to pieces, making a great hole in the stone floor. He states, without enthusiasm, that nobody was killed, and one feels that he would not have been sorry had the Principal been more closely involved in the catastrophe.

Mr Strachan, it seems, had devised a gallery “for the use of the people at sermon.” It was intended to run crossways through the church from north to south, thus taking away “the stately sight and glorious show of the body of the whole church.” The beautiful carved reredos, with its ornaments, was broken up by Strachan to decorate the front and back of what Spalding testily describes as “this beistlie loft.”

Thus, under the leadership of the Principal of

* *History of the Troubles in Scotland, 1624-45.*

the University, were destroyed by the vandals of a later age, the glories which Elphinstone and Dunbar had so lovingly devised to make a fitting "House for the Lord."

CHAPTER IX

SONS OF THE NORTH IN EXILE

FROM the writings of many historians of the Reformation in Scotland one might infer that the Confession of Faith was accepted wholeheartedly by a people who realised that the old religion was worn and effete, and who found in the new creed something exactly suited to their needs.

Yet, if this was the case, why "the cruel repressive measures directed against Catholics for two centuries," which Rait calls "a hideous persecution—a dark stain on the history of Protestant Scotland"?

We have only to study such books as Pitcairn's *Criminal Trials in Scotland*, Chambers's *Domestic Annals of Scotland*, the *Records of the General Assemblies*, and the *Records of Old Aberdeen*, to see how desperately hard the old Faith died,

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and how in some districts, despite the severity of persecution, it never died at all.

Nowhere was resistance more active than in the North. Neither exile, deprivation, nor the threat of death could daunt the sturdy independent spirit of her sons, which, always on the side of freedom, now stood out strongly for liberty of conscience and the right to worship as their fathers had worshipped before them.

In 1593 all Jesuits, seminary priests and excommunicated persons were ordered to quit the country on pain of death. Since all who were known to be true to the old Faith were required to renounce it, and were excommunicated if they refused, this meant, in many cases, loss of property as well as loss of country and employment. In 1630 James Forbes of Blacktown and his wife were excommunicated for popery, their house being seized on their refusal to conform. In the same year the King gave away the lands of two other exiled papists, Alexander and Robert Irving, and the petition of John Gordon of Craig and his son to be allowed to receive a third part of their own estate before

quitting the country was refused. In 1631 we hear that Robert and Alexander Irving and Thomas Menzies, who had abandoned the kingdom to settle with their wives and families in France, were in such poverty that they could hardly live. In the same year, Menzies of Balgowny, with his wife and nine children, went to France in company with several other Catholic families, banished because of their religion. In July 1629 it had been specially ordered that "should priests or other delinquents fly to fortified places, the Commissioners should follow, hunt, and pursue them with fire and sword, assiege the said strengths or houses, raise fire and use all other force for apprehending of the said Jesuits and Papists."

Far and wide over the Continent travelled the exiled sons of the North, ruthlessly driven forth as outlaws from their country because they were true to their conscience and their God. We find them everywhere, teaching in the Universities of France, Spain, Austria and Italy. The columns of the registers of the Scots Colleges at Douai, Madrid and Rome teem with such names as

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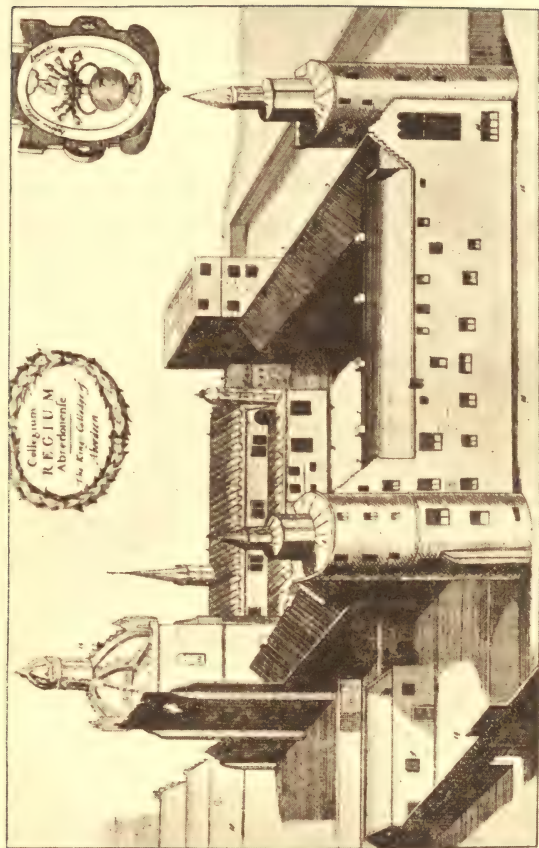
Gordon, Forbes, Leslie, Strachan, Anderson, Hay, Seton, Menzies, Grant, Innes and Irvine, followed by the word "Aberdonensis."

"It is wonderful," says the French historian Bouchier,* "to how many men of learning and piety Scotland has given birth. It is not necessary to enumerate the illustrious men whom the Scottish Church has produced either in former or more recent times, for their names are too well known to need to be recorded here. The troubles of their own country, by dispersing them into so many foreign lands, have made their virtues and their learning only the more widely known. It is a common remark that these men display not only the rarest piety, but acuteness of intellect truly wonderful, and literary knowledge which is beyond all praise."

Foremost among the exiled sons of Elphinstone's University was John Leslie, Bishop of Ross, the devoted friend and faithful counsellor of Mary Stuart during her sorrowful captivity in England. Student and regent at King's College, we find him in 1544 elected by the Coun-

* *Historia Ecclesiastica*, Bouchier (Paris).

cil of Old Aberdeen "to be one of the prebendaries of the queir, and to have the organs and Sang school, for the instruction of Godis bairns and keeping them in good order." His name—John Leslie, Parson of Murthlach—appears among the signatures of the memorial presented in 1559 by the Chapter to Bishop Gordon, and he is mentioned again, a year later, as having given valuable help to the Earl of Huntly in his efforts to save the Cathedral from destruction. In the spring of the same year he was sent by the leaders of the Catholic party in Scotland to tell the young Queen that, if she would land at Aberdeen, an army of twenty thousand of her loyal subjects would conduct her in safety to Edinburgh. Mary thanked him courteously and declined the proposal. She wanted, she said, "the obedience of all her subjects," a dream of which she was soon to learn the futility. Leslie returned with Mary to Scotland, where he proved himself her true servant and faithful champion. In 1568, three years after his promotion to the See of Ross, his fidelity to his Queen and to his Faith caused him to be proclaimed a traitor to



Places of the Kings College.

- | | |
|---------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 1 The Church | 13 Entry to the Gate |
| 2 The New Works | 14 Governor's Apartment |
| 3 The Great Hall | 15 The Circular Staircase |
| 4 The Grand Staircase | 16 the Kitchen's great Vaulted Hall |
| | |
| 5 The Jewell House | 17 the Vicar's House |
| 6 The Bishop's House | 18 Part of the Kitchen |
| 7 Chambers | 19 Part of the Kitchen |
| 8 2 Towers called the Capitalls | 20 Part of the Kitchen |
| | 21 Part of the Kitchen |

KING'S COLLEGE—FROM AN OLD PRINT.

his country and condemned to forfeiture. He took a leading part in the conferences of York and Westminster, when, presenting himself before Elizabeth as the accredited envoy of his sovereign, he was incontinently clapped into the Tower by that amiable lady. Here he remained for two years, assailed alternately with threats and promises to induce him to renounce his religion. Set free at last and driven into exile, he implored the Pope to give him leave to appeal to all the princes in Europe to come to the aid of his unfortunate Queen. Henry III. of France, who showed much kindness to the banished Catholics of Scotland, bestowed on him a benefice, for he was in utter destitution. From his exile he corresponded constantly with Mary, until her tragic death in 1587 put an end to the hopes and plans of her friends. James VI., whose redeeming feature seems to have been a certain gratitude to the men who had befriended his mother, invited him to return to Scotland, promising to reinstate him in his bishopric, but Leslie, who had reason to doubt the stability of James's promises, and who knew the condition

of affairs in his native land, refused the invitation. He withdrew to a monastery of Canons Regular at Gertrudenberg, where he died in 1597. Besides his *History of Scotland*, he wrote several works on historical, legal and ascetic subjects. The Scots College at Paris* owed its completion to his zeal and enterprise, while the College of Douai was founded by money which he had left for the purpose.† “He deserves the highest praise,” says Grub,‡ “not only for his learning and ability, but for his zeal, piety and

* The Scots College at Paris was inaugurated early in the fourteenth century by Bishop David of Moray, who founded burses in the University of Paris for needy Scottish students.

† In 1547 Dr James Cheyne, who had been, before the Reformation, Parish Priest of Aboyne, and was afterwards Canon of Tournai and Professor of Theology at Douai, founded at Tournai a small seminary for his countrymen. The College was later transferred to Pont-à-Mousson, in Lorraine. Queen Mary bestowed on it a pension of four hundred golden crowns, and Pope Gregory XIII. was also a great benefactor. In 1593, the pensions of the Queen and the Pope having ceased with their lives, and the College being in great poverty, William Meldrum, precentor of Aberdeen Cathedral, founded four burses in the College, on the condition that, should Scotland return to the ancient Faith, they should be transferred to the University of Aberdeen. In 1593 the College was removed from Pont-à-Mousson to Douai, and three years later to Louvain. From Louvain it was removed to Antwerp, but returned finally, in 1612, to Douai. In 1765 its property was confiscated to the French crown. The Government, however, afterwards permitted the funds to be used for the education of a certain number of Scottish students at the seminary.

‡ *Ecclesiastical History of Scotland*.

worth, and for his uniform, unswerving attachment to the religious and political principles which he maintained."

The thrilling adventures of Father Patrick Anderson, Bishop Leslie's nephew, are recounted at full length in Father Forbes Leith's *Narratives of Scottish Catholics during the Reigns of Mary Stuart and James VI.* Born about the time of the Reformation, he studied theology in Louvain, and entered the novitiate of the Jesuits at Rome in the year 1598. In 1609 he was in Scotland ministering, at the risk of life and liberty, to the spiritual needs of his countrymen in the North. "He threw himself into this mission," says Chambers,* "with a zeal and gallantry which no generous opponent could dispute." In 1611 he was recalled to the Continent, to be appointed the first Rector of the newly-founded Scots College in Rome,† a post for which he was

* *Domestic Annals of Scotland.*

† The Scots College in Rome was founded in 1600 by Pope Clement VIII. for the education of Scottish ecclesiastical students, debarred by the penal laws from studying in their own land. It was opened in 1602. Father Patrick Anderson, nephew of Bishop Leslie, and its first Scottish Rector, drew up an admirable code of rules for its efficient government and discipline.

eminently fitted both by talent and learning. Before ten years had passed he had quitted this honourable position to brave the dangers of a return to Scotland, where he went about encouraging those Catholics who had remained true to their religion, and reconciling others who had fallen away through weakness and fear. On the 17th of March 1620 he was seized in Edinburgh, through the treachery of a pretended friend, who was in reality a notorious priest-hunter. 'Thrown into prison, where for nine months he endured great hardships, being constantly tormented by his gaolers with threats or promises to renounce his Faith, he was at last set free, probably through the instrumentality of the French Ambassador. In a letter written during his imprisonment to the General of the Society of Jesus, he bears splendid testimony to the steadfast spirit of his persecuted co-religionists.

“ Though the severity of the persecution, to which I have briefly alluded,” he says, “ is so great, yet the steadfastness of the Catholics is so strong, their numbers so large, and the eager-

ness of their souls to approach the Divine Mysteries so keen, that they seem to have inherited the fervour of the primitive Christians. Under a daily increasing persecution, they remain steadfast, in spite of ridicule, loss of goods, imprisonment, infamy and the like ; and are ready to shed their blood for the Catholic Faith.”* Father Anderson was banished from the country, under a threat of certain death if he returned. He died three years later, worn out by his labours. The result of his mission in Scotland was a notable increase in the number of young men who went abroad to study for the priesthood in one or other of the Scots Colleges.

“The country must have seemed strangely desolate to souls of the old Faith,” says Andrew Lang, with a flash of insight. “The ‘blessed mutter of the Mass’ was silent ; the candles were extinguished, the vestments were cut up for doublets, the last incense smoke had rolled away. In lonely green cleughs the chapels were desecrated ; the crosses by the wayside had perished ; the Angelus no longer called to

* The original document is in the Jesuit College at Stonyhurst.

prayer ; the tombs were stripped and spoiled. If all these things had exercised their ministry in stimulating, and consoling, and regulating the religious emotions ; if the extreme rites of the Church had fortified men in the hour of death—the souls that desired them starved.”*

It was to minister to this spiritual starvation that the many Jesuits and priests on the mission risked their lives and liberty, hiding from their pursuers in caves and ditches—homeless, hunted, suffering, yet undaunted.

In 1574 the Privy Council issued a decree forbidding, under pain of death, any dealings with certain “rebels and outlaws.” The list includes, together with Bishop Leslie, the names of two other well-known Scotsmen, Father Edmund Hay and William Barclay.

Edmund Hay was connected with two of the most powerful families of the North, his father being a kinsman of the Earl of Errol and his mother a Gordon. He became the first Rector of the College of Pont-à-Mousson, and was described by his fellow Jesuits as a very religious,

* *History of Scotland*, Vol. II.

prudent and learned man. His nephew, William Barclay, son of the Laird of Towie, was well known as a jurist. Born in 1547, he studied at Aberdeen and at Louvain, and later became Professor of Humanity in Paris. In 1578 he was appointed to the chair of Civil Law at Pont-à-Mousson. Twenty years later he went to London, where King James offered him a lucrative and honourable appointment if he would consent to give up his Faith. This he refused to do, and returning to France, became Professor of Law at Angers, where he died in 1605. His son, John, won a European reputation as a Latin scholar and the author of the *Argenis*.

The most eminent of the Gordons, a family noted for its staunch adherence to the old Faith, was Father James Gordon, fifth son of George, fourth Earl of Huntly, who became a Jesuit in 1563, and later filled the highest offices in the Jesuit Colleges in France. "A very learned and godlie man," says his biographer, "one who from his infancie had forsaken the pleasures of this world, and did altogether give himself to the service of God. He was much respected and

reverenced in the Societie for his holiness of lyff and conversation." Another member of the clan, James Gordon of Lesmoir, was Rector of the Jesuit Colleges at Toulouse and Bordeaux, and Confessor to Louis XIII. of France. He was a great Biblical student, and wrote several books on theology.

It was through the influence of the first Father James Gordon that John, Master of Forbes, afterwards known as Father Archangel,* renouncing country, estate, fortune, and the young Protestant bride to whom his father had affianced him, fled abroad to embrace a life of poverty and hardship in the Capuchin monastery at Tournai. He devoted himself with unceasing energy and fervour to the spiritual welfare of his fellow-countrymen abroad, and particularly to the Scottish soldiers of the garrison at Dixmude, many of whom were drawn to lead better lives by his charity and eloquence. His brother William also became a Capuchin.

* Not to be confounded with Father Archangel Leslie, another Scottish Capuchin, born at Monymusk, who became a Catholic whilst in Paris, whither he had been sent for his education. He returned to Scotland, and was the means of bringing many back to the old Faith.

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George Conn, another native of Aberdeenshire, became Canon of St Lawrence in Damaso and domestic prelate to the Pope, who sent him as Papal Legate to the Court of Charles I. He was to have received the award of a Cardinal's hat, but died before the honour was conferred. A handsome monument was erected to his memory by his friend and patron, Cardinal Barberini, in the Church of St Lawrence. He wrote a book on the sufferings of the Catholics in Scotland, in which he mentions the names of many eminent Scotsmen in exile for their Faith.

But it was not only as men of letters and shepherds of souls that the exiled sons of the North served the countries that gave them shelter and freedom of conscience. James Leslie of Balquhain, Lord Chamberlain and Privy Councillor to the Emperor of Germany, was appointed Field-marshal, and was one of the greatest generals of his time. His father, Count of the Empire, was Imperial Ambassador to Constantinople.

The North of Scotland, in the seventeenth century, was still to a great extent true to the old Church. Most of the Gordons and Hays

were Catholics, together with a large proportion of the Leslie, Irvines and Cheynes. Robert Bisset of Lessendrum had earned for himself the distinction of being set down in a list of adherents of the Church of Rome as "the most pestilent and dangerous instrument in the north," James Forbes of Blackton being described in the same document as "a very pernicious seducer and busy trauficker."

Even among those who had conformed to the new doctrines, the old belief was continually breaking out in unexpected places. Not even the terrible penal laws which made it a crime even to receive or keep company with excommunicated papists were able to prevent men from joining their ranks. Perhaps it was their very steadfastness under persecution, their heroic endurance under circumstances calculated to break the spirit of any man, which led others to think that a religion for which men would suffer so much must be worth looking into. Those who did look into it usually ended by joining it; among them were several regents or professors of the Northern University.

The first case on record is quaintly noted by Spalding in his *History of the Troubles in Scotland*, 1624-1645.

"About the 24th of February 1642," he says, "Mr William Blackhall, ane of the regents of the Colledge Marschall, a prompt scholar, bred, born and brought up in Aberdeen, and never yit out of the country, refused to subscribe the countrie covenant as the rest did, whereupon he was deposit of his regency ; thereafter he lived simply in sober manner within the town. He is callit in suspicion of poperie, he is convenit before the session of Aberdene, and at last brought before the presbyterie upon the foresaid 24th February, the same then sitting within the Colledge of Old Aberdene, Mr David Lindsay, parson of Balhelvy Moderatour. He is accusit of what religion he was of, and of what Kirk he was. After some answeris, at last he plainly and avowedlie declarit he was ane Roman Catholic, and would bide by the same, to the astonishment of the whole hearers, being of ane other profession as appearit, and so pertlie (now in time of the hottest persecution of papists in this land) to manifest himself

so. Allways, after some dealing with him by the ministrie and brethren, at last he is excommunicat, and chargit to conforme or leave the countrie. . . . This Blackhall was excommunicat upon the 20th of March, syne leaves the countrie."

Two years later " the ministrie and brethren " must have had another shock. Andrew Youngson, a native of the Mearns, and Professor of Philosophy in the University, took to the study of medicine, and incidentally also to the study of the Faith of his fathers, for on 7th September 1647 he was received into the Church, and, of course, promptly banished. The same year he entered the Scots College at Madrid, appearing in the register as born of Protestant parents and twenty-eight years old. He entered the Society of Jesus, and became Rector of the College and Professor of Theology at Toledo and Madrid. He is mentioned in the records of the College as a man of great learning.

An allusion in a letter of Father James Macbreck, Jesuit priest on the mission in Scotland, written to his superior between the years

1642 and 1646, refers either to William Blackhall or Andrew Youngson, or there was yet another regent disgracing himself in the eyes of the Kirk.

“ There was also a student and doctor of philosophy in the well-known University of Aberdeen,” he writes, “ who read the volumes of Bellarmine and Suarez. . . . What he drew from them he retained, and growing stronger in his convictions, he refuted his colleagues, and by the force of his arguments overcame in a public disputation the new Calvinist Professor of Theology. . . . His power of reasoning and the integrity of his life gave the utmost offence to the heretics,* and they summoned him before their tribunal, demanding an account of what he believed.” On the day named there was a large assembly in the town, and before them all “ he declared that he adhered to the Church of Rome, and called his audience to witness that the reasons and arguments he advanced were neither refuted nor impugned, either by the chief of the

* It must be admitted that Father Macbreck “ miscalls ” the Presbyterians with almost, if not quite, as much vigour as they the “ papists.”

Calvinist theologians or by the Assembly. He demanded to have the fact recorded and attested in the presence of two competent notaries whom he had brought for the purpose, and withdrew. . . . A man crowned with the laurel of a master's degree, remarkable for many years previous by his dignity and wisdom in the college, as a teacher far superior to his contemporaries by the fame of his learning, had all at once turned out a papist. . . . Without delay they passed judgment upon him, declaring him excommunicated and anathematised, a criminal, a renegade, and a deceiver, and ordered him to be apprehended, thrown into prison and put to death without mercy. He went into concealment for a time, but the townspeople were on his side, and his colleagues and the masters in philosophy expressed their approval of the course he had taken, though they did not imitate it, while the students eagerly discussed the matter among themselves.

“As soon as he was able to put to sea, he left the country. . . . Shortly after his departure a number of young men, urged by his example,

determined to go and seek the truth of Christian faith in a foreign land, and are so engaged at this moment."

It is not surprising that the brethren complained of the "daily increase of Papistrie within the realme, and the defection of the multitude from the truth" while such things as this were going on. "Persons from their youth nourished in the Kirk of God, fearfully fallen back therefrom, and become great renegades and blasphemers of the truth and maintainers of idolatry and that man of sin, the lieutenant of Satan"—this is presumably a polite allusion to the Pope. "They beg that they may be punished as traitors."*

Among the brave women who refused to swim with the tide at the expense of conscience and conviction† must be mentioned Frances Man, whose uncompromisingly sturdy attitude is shown by a short entry in the *Records of the Kirk Session of Aberdeen*.

* *Book of the Universall Kirk.*

† See Appendix II. Their names, with particulars of the proceedings taken against them, are given more fully in Appendix II. of Father Forbes Leith's *Memoirs of Scottish Catholics*.

23rd March 1657. "Compearit Frances Man ; and being accusit for poperie, confest that she was a papist, and would avowe and professe the same, and that she was a Roman Catholic, and did not haunt ordinances ; and being demandit if she would quit and forsake poperie, answered not. The session offered her a time to be advised therewith. She answered, she would not have a time, seeing she has been a papist these seven years, and has served popish persons during that space, and absolutely refused to be reclaimed from that religioun. The session appointed the moderator to acquaint the presbytery with the matter, that they may give out the sentence against her."

The dauntless, not to say provocative, demeanour of Mr John Strachan, whose adventures are racily described by Orem in his *Old Aberdeen*, might lead one to identify him with the unnamed regent in Father Macbreck's letter to the General of the Society, did not dates forbid.*

"The said Mr John Strachan," says Orem,

* Strachan's name does not occur in the list of regents till some five years after the letter was written.

“ was the best scholar that ever was in the College.” (This is saying a good deal !) “ But the Cants and the rest of the clergy in Aberdeen had prejudice at him, because he was a royalist ; and because his uncle, Sir John Strachan, was with King Charles II.

“ At last the said Strachan was to graduate his scholars of the magistrand class ; and after he had printed his theses, and distributed them, and the day appointed for the graduation in the common school of the College, then Mr Andrew Cant, Regent in Marischal College, and the rest of the clergy, accused Mr Strachan for his theses, and said he had set down popish positions in them. But Mr Strachan told them he would defend all that was inserted in his theses ; whereupon the diet of gradation was altered, and a new diet to be at St Machar’s Church in Old Aberdeen. When the day came, there was a great confluence of gentry from all places of the country, who came to St Machar’s Church. Thence came over the Cants, and Mr Menzies, and all the rest of the clergy of Aberdeen, and with them Mr Alexander Cant, minister of Ban-

chory, and placed themselves in the Marquis of Huntly's loft, opposite to the pulpit ; for Mr Strachan had taken the pulpit, and no person with him but Professor Douglas, who sat in the latron [lectern (?)], and Principal Rowe sat alone in the college loft.

“ Mr Strachan began with a prayer, and after had a long harangue, which being ended, he invited them to impugn his theses.

“ Then they began to object, and he answered their arguments readily ; but to his solutions they all answered *una voce*, which made a great confusion in the disputations. Yet learned men said that Mr Strachan had the better of it that day. This dispute continued long ; at last, when it was ended, and the people dismissed, coming out of the church door, Mr Strachan accuses young Mr Andrew Cant, regent, for some reflecting answer he had given him in the time of the dispute, and would have trampled him under his feet, if the gentry had not interposed, and taken Mr Strachan away from them. For Mr Strachan was a gentleman* and a pretty man

* Is this an aspersion on the Cants ?

both in parts and in body, and undervalued all the Cants. His father was Mr Alexander Strachan, minister of Logie-Durno, and parson of Fetterneir."

The upshot of this spirited encounter with the clergy was that Mr Strachan "went abroad and turned popish," and very naturally, since life was now impossible for him in his own country, "died abroad."

Andrew Cant, the elder, father of the young gentleman whom Mr Strachan would have trampled under his feet had it not been for the intervention of the gentry, seems to have been an unpopular character. Even Kennedy, that sworn enemy of papists, gives him a poke,* and the sympathies of Orem are obviously with Strachan.

The Strachans were unfortunate in their sons. Robert Strachan, also regent at the University, and son of the minister of Birse, followed a few

* "No sooner had he entered upon the duties of his office than he began to exercise his ecclesiastical authority with much rigour, and even fulminated his anathemas against the civil magistrate for not complying with his dictates. His ecclesiastical tyranny at length became intolerable to the people, and his congregation was compelled to complain to the magistrates." *Annals of Aberdeen.*

years later, though less dramatically, in John's footsteps. He is described as a man of zeal and learning who taught Greek in Cardinal Barberini's seminary at Padua, in company with three other Scotsmen engaged in teaching divinity. He was accompanied to Rome, where he was received into the Scots College by James Donaldson, another Aberdonian, obliged to flee the country for the same reasons as Strachan. They both became priests.

Thomas Nicolson hardly comes into the scope of this book, as, although a native of Aberdeen—he was the son of the Baron of Kemnay—he was teaching in the University of Glasgow when he gave up country, honours and appointment for conscience' sake. For fourteen years he had been Professor of Greek, Mathematics and Philosophy, which he is said to have taught with marked success, when, at the age of thirty-six, he embraced the Catholic Faith, with the penalty of exile.

The spirit of its holy founders seems to have hung for long about the halls of the University, a harder thing to destroy than their effigies or

the stately house that they had built for God. And surely, in the "House not made with hands," their prayers still linger round the city that they loved.

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APPENDICES

I.—CHURCH MUSIC IN THE MIDDLE AGES

THE following extracts from the well-known and exceedingly comprehensive *History of Music*, by Emil Naumann,* show briefly how the Gregorian chant came into being, how it was connected with a still earlier form of Church music, known as the Ambrosian Chant, and how it spread rapidly over Catholic Europe. The learned author, although himself a Protestant, shows a wonderful insight into and understanding of the spirit of the Catholic Church, and the meaning of her ritual.

“ The longing for the life beyond the grave, so prevalent in the mediæval ages, could nowhere find a deeper and truer expression than in the tonal art. Music, far more than painting, was capable of entering into the depths of the soul and expressing that craving for the unknown. . . . Part-writing—the outgrowth of deep and sincere Christian feeling—enabled the musician to produce those effects of light and shade which

* Published by Messrs. Cassell & Co.

may be compared to systematic arrangement and grouping in the plastic art, and to perspective, shading and colour in painting. Thus the Christian religion increased in a wonderful manner the means of expression in music. Only now did the tonal art become capable of expressing those secret promptings of the heart which, as lightning flashes, speak to man of the existence of a Deity, and, independently of his will, force themselves upon him with an intensity and truthfulness that no language can adequately convey nor logic prove. . . . There was no connecting link between the mysterious longing of the Christian nations and the realism of the people of antiquity. Whilst the motto of the latter was, 'Think ye how to live,' that of the Christians was, 'Think ye how to die,' and the tonal art, imbued with devotional spirit, gave to the world the affecting 'De Profundis,' the 'Miserere,' and the 'Requiem.'

"But it must not be supposed from such compositions that Christians had nothing but the picture of a charnel-house and cemetery always before them. They also chanted in hope of eternal happiness their 'Gloria in Excelsis' and 'Te Deum Laudamus.' Nor was there wanting a certain robust gaiety and a joyful love of life in their existence, entirely in keeping

with the poet's words, 'The wheel of life revolves merrily, when religion is safely rooted in the heart.' The general tendency was to regard this earthly sojourn as but a stage in the heavenly journey, and the present was valued only so far as it helped men to prepare for the future. . . .

"The antiphonal method of chanting the Psalms is attributed to Flavian and Diodorus, who introduced it into the Church at Antioch (A.D. 350). A still earlier reference on the same subject is that concerning St Ignatius (A.D. 49-107), who is said to have been a disciple of the Apostle St John. . . . The notion of a Catholic Church, as the representative of a universal and all-embracing Faith, first began to dawn in the second century, and with it arose the desire to create a service of Church song, which should readily adapt itself to all parts of the liturgy. Tertullian, Origen and Clement of Alexandria relate many important facts in reference to certain attempts made in this direction in the third century. . . . At the beginning of the fourth century, Pope Sylvester founded a school for singers at Rome . . . and in the time of St Ambrose (333-397) the song of Christianity was established on a basis so firm that it lasted unchanged for 200 years. . . . The Ambrosian Chant was probably of a declamatory character,

the tone, as with the Greeks, being entirely subordinated to the words, and it is not at all unlikely that certain of those responses of the Roman Catholic Church, which are more often recited than sung, have grown out of the Ambrosian system.

“Whatever the true chant may have been, and however much the tone was fettered by the words, it is historically proved that it was capable of grand, soul-stirring effects. St Augustine, when referring to the Christian chant, which he first heard at Milan, exclaimed: ‘O my God! when the sweet voice of the congregation broke upon mine ear, how I wept over Thy hymns of praise. The sound poured into mine ears and Thy truth entered my heart.’ . . .

“At the time Gregory was elevated to the Papal See (A.D. 590), the Ambrosian Chant had lost much of its early purity and dignity, and an anxious desire had grown up amongst the people to possess a newer and freer musical Church service than that which had hitherto been theirs. . . . It was necessary, if there was to be one grand musical service for the Church, that the essential elements of each service should be collected (from the liturgies of the East and the West), and, after rejecting that which was worthless, it might be possible to adopt a method

which should be acceptable to all. Gregory, who had already done a great work as a Church reformer, was convinced of the necessity of such a common chant for the success of his Master's Faith, and undertook the arduous duty. Thoroughly impressed with the importance of his serious undertaking, he so energetically set about his self-imposed task, that during the comparatively short period of his reign (590-604) he succeeded in entirely reconstructing and remodelling a hitherto heterogeneous service into one harmonious whole. . . . The Gregorian system was now generally adopted . . . and new directions were promulgated as to the performance of the Mass. The arrangement of the Mass, as it then stood, has remained unchanged to the present day, and has been the groundwork on which some of the noblest musical compositions have been raised into monuments of imperishable grandeur. In order to perpetuate his new system of song, Gregory instituted a musical academy at Rome on a scale of great magnificence. This school became so famous that in a very little time the praise of the 'Cantus Romanus' was sounded in all lands. The 'Cantus Planus' (plain chant) spread with surprising rapidity over the whole of Central Europe. In the year A.D. 614 the Pope sent

singers to England. The successor of Gregory to the Papal Chair was solemnly acknowledged by the Western nations as the supreme head of the united Church, and this greatly tended to the speedy diffusion of the new musical ritual."

II.—EXTRACTS FROM CONTEMPORARY RECORDS,
ETC., SHOWING THE NUMBER OF CON-
VICTIONS FOR "POPERY" IN THE SEVEN-
TEENTH CENTURY IN SCOTLAND.

1628. "The Privy Council met to issue orders against a number of persons of consideration in the North. They included 'Mr Robert Bisset of Lessendrum, bailie of Strathbogie; Alexander Gordon of Drumquhaill, chamberlain of Strathbogie; Patrick Gordon of Tilliesoul; John Gordon, in Little-mill; Adam Smith, chamberlain of the Enzie; Robert Gordon, in Haddo; Barbara Law, spouse to the said Adam Smith; Margaret Gordon, goodwife of Cornmellat; Malcolm Laing, in Gulburn; and Mr Adam Strachan, chamberlain to the Earl of Aboyne.' It was stated of them that 'they remained indifferent under the fearful sentence of excommunication, and the consequent process of horning'—that is, rebellion—frequenting all

parts of the country 'as if they had been true and faithful subjects.'

“ There was next a recital regarding a number of persons, including, besides several of the above, ‘ Mr Alexander Irving, burgess of Aberdeen ; Thomas Menzies of Balgownie ; Walter Leslie, in Aberdeen ; Robert Irwing, burgess there ; John Gordon, appearand of Craig ; James Forbes of Blackton ; Robert Gordon, in Cushnie ; James Philip, in Easton ; James Con, in Knockie ; John Gordon, in Bountie ; Alexander Harvie, in Inverury ; John Gordon, in Troupsmill ; John Spence, notar in Pewsmill ; Francis Leslie, brother to Capuchin Leslie ; Alexander Leslie, brother to the Laird of Pitcaple ; Thomas Cheyne, in Rannaston ; William Seton of Blair ; Thomas Laing, goldsmith, burgess of Aberdeen ; Alexander Gordon, in Tilliegreg ; Alexander Gordon, in Convach ; Agnes Gordon, his spouse ; Margaret Gordon, spouse to Robert Innes, in Elgin ’ ; who had all been excommunicated and denounced rebels for the same reason (Popery) ; also seven men and two women, including, besides several of those formerly cited, Alexander Gordon, in Badenoch ; Angus M'Ewen M'William there ; and Alexander Gordon, appearand of Cairnbarrow ; and Helen Coutts, his spouse ; who had been put to the

horn for not coming to answer for their not conforming themselves to the religion presently professed within this kingdom.”*

“ On the 18th of June 1629, the Council issued a charge against Sir John Campbell of Caddell ; Mr Alexander Irving, burgess of Aberdeen (and those above cited) ; that, notwithstanding all that had been lately done, they continue obdurate against kirk and law, going about as if nothing were amiss, and enjoying possession of their houses, goods and gear, ‘ whilk properly belongs to His Majesty as escheat.’ The Council ordained that officers-at-arms pass, pursue and take the said rebels, their houses, remove them and their families furth thereof, and keep and detain the same in His Majesty’s name ; also to search out, poind, and uplift all gear of theirs wherever to be found, and bring it to the exchequer.”†

“ On the 27th of July 1630, the Council received a petition from John Gordon of Craig ‘ humbly shewing that, for religion, order hath been given for banishing the petitioner’s son, his wife and children, and confining himself—in respect of his great age—in a town within Scotland (Cupar), which order they have all humbly obeyed, his wife, son and poor children having

* *Domestic Annals of Scotland*, Chambers.

† *Ibid.*

forthwith abandoned the kingdom. A two part of the poor estate which he hath being allotted for his son and his family, and a third part for himself, he now findeth that by such a mean proportion he cannot be able to live, being both aged and sickly. His humble suit is, that he may have leave to depart the kingdom to live with his son, because by their estate undivided, they may all be more able to subsist than otherwise.' The Council decreed that the desire of the supplicant was unreasonable, and further declared 'that the said John Gordon of Craig sall have no modification nor allowance of ane third part of his estate and living, except he remain within the kingdom and keep the bounds of his confinement.'

"On the 23rd December 1630, the Privy Council adverted to Madelen Wood, spouse to Leslie of Kincraigie; Janet Wood, spouse to John Gordon of Bountie; Marjory Malcolm, spouse to Matthew Alexander, in Turriff; Barbara Garden; ——. Gordon, spouse to Mr Robert Bisset of Lessendrum; Isobel Strachan, spouse to John Spence, in Brunstain; and ——, spouse to John Gordon at the mill of Ruthven, who are not only professed and open avowed papists, and excommunicat by orders of the kirk for that cause, but with that they are 'common

resetters, hoorders, and enterteiners of Jesuits, and mess priests, and trafficking papists—hears mess of them, and otherwise lives aftir ane most scandalous and offensive manner.’ ”*

“ Compeirit Alex. Hervie in Wattertowne accusit for not heiring of the word and the reason of it, anserit that it was against his conscience so to doe, and that because he thinks our doctrine not the trew doctrine and thairfoir beleeves it not, he desiring conference for instruction and resolution. The minister ansers that if he will come and heir the word publictlie preached befoir, that thairefter he sall instruct him privatlie at quhat tyme he will and in quhat poyntis he doubts of and will propon, quhilk he refused to doe.”†

“ Sir John Ogilvy of Craig, after enduring imprisonment for a time in Edinburgh Castle, was allowed to live in Edinburgh and in St Andrews under a modified restraint. Finally, he was permitted to go home to his dwelling-house of Craig ‘ upon promise of ane sober and modest behaviour without scandal or offence to the kirk.’ ‘ Nevertheless,’ as the Council proceeds to remark, ‘ Sir John, since his going home, has behaved himself very scandalously, daily conversing with excommunicat persons, privately

* *Domestic Annals of Scotland*, Chambers.

† *Records of Old Aberdeen*, 22nd April (1627).

resetting seminary and mass priests, and restraining his bairns and servants from coming to the kirk, to the heigh offence of God and disgrace of his majesty's government.' For this reason he was ordered (22nd September) to go into ward in St Andrews, 'until he be freed and relaxed by the Lords.' ”*

“ Now the papists are straitly put out in all places, without respect, within the kingdom ; among the rest the lady Dowager of Huntly, a noble, worthy, and honourable lady, is put at by the kirk to renounce her religion, and conform in severe manner. This lady, born in France, brought up in the Roman religion all her days, and of great age, would not now (her one foot being in the grave, as the saying is) alter her religion, but rather made choice to leave the kingdom ; whilk she was forced to do for all her kindred's moyan and friendship that she could make. Thus resolutely she settles her estate, rent and living ; leaves, with woe heart, her stately building of the Bog, beautiful with many yards, parks and pleasures, closes up the gates, and takes journey, with about sixteen horse ; and, upon Sat. the 26th of June, she came to Aberdeen, lodged in Mr Alexander Reid's house and Monday thereafter, she rides frae Aberdeen

* *Domestic Annals of Scotland*, Chambers (1631).

towards Edinburgh. A strange thing to see a worthy lady of seventy years of age to be put to such trouble and travel, being a widow, her eldest son, the Lord Marquis, being out of the kingdom, her other children dispersed and spread and albeit nobly born yet left helpless and comfortless, and so put at by the kirk, that she behoved to go, or else abide excommunication, and thereby lose her estate and living whilk she was loath to do.”*

“ Now, thundering daily out of the pulpits against papists in Aberdeen. None durst be seen, but searched and sought for, sic as Thomas Menzies of Balgowny, his wife and children. Mr George Anderson, Robert Irvine, and John Forbes, who had permission for this parish, accompanied with Mr John Lundie and James Innes, Baillies of Old Aberdeen, went out upon a Sabbath day after the afternoon sermon with caption to take Alexander Harvey, in Grandhome, for popery, who was lying bedfast in the gout to have taken him as excommunicate papist, but they could not find him ; his son they saw upon horseback, excommunicate also, but they had no commission against him, and so they came back again without more ado. . . . Upon the 18th of April the young laird of

* *History of the Troubles in Scotland*, Spalding (1624-1645).

Birkenbog, by commission, accompanied with the bailiff of Banff, brought into Aberdeen a priest called — Robertson, who was taken by the sheriff out of — Forbes of Blacktown's House, and first had to Banff, and straightly warded, and thereafter transported to Aberdeen by the sheriff and baillies of Banff and brought into the provincial Assembly of New Aberdeen. He was put again into the Tolbooth and shortly thereafter transported to Edinburgh to the Council, and after some trials, in the end he was dismissed to West Flanders, obliged, under the pain of death, never to return back to Scotland again.”*

1643. “ Upon Saturday the 11th of November, James Comm, in Knockie Miln, was brought into Aberdeen by the sheriff of Banff, called the laird of Birkenbog. He had been taken and warded in the Tolbooth of Banff nine weeks before, for his religion only, being an excommunicate papist, and that day was convoyed to Aberdeen, where he was warded in the Tolbooth, and delivered to Mr William Davidson, sheriff-depute.”†

16th of April 1648. “ It was intimat out of pulpit that none should have commerce with

* *History of the Troubles in Scotland*, Spalding (1624-1645).

† *Ibid.*

these excommunicat papists, viz.: Mr Adam Strachan; Isoble Hay his wife; George Hay, sone to Murifold; Elisabeth and Ann Hayes; Mare Cuming; Jannet Darg; laird of Schiwas and his ladye; Susan Haitley, the guidwife of Arthrachie; Setone of Blair, elder; and yo' Jeane Mawer; the ladie Delgetie; Sophia Hey; James Gordone; Janett Knowes; Jannete Malcome; Minzies of Balgownie; Mr Alexander Irving of Hiltone and his wife; Alexander Colisone; Alexander Hervie; Mr Wm. Lumsden; Helene Barclay; Roberte Irving; Jean Minzeis; John Gordon of Secchel; Margaret Wynton; Isoble Irving, wife to Alexander Irving of Baltie; John Leythes' two daughters; Isoble Blackhall, relict of Mr Thomas Blackhall; Mr William Blackhall; James, Lord Gordon; Mr Wm. Maitland; Mr Alexander Innes, Aradoule, Yo; Pat. Gordon, Steilhand; Arthor Forbes, under all highest payne that efter may follow."*

7th May 1648. "The sd day intimatione was made of excommunicat persons viz.: George Gardyne, feire of Telifrockie; Alexander Paip, laird of Schythine, laird of Typertie; Alex. Irving of Drume; Patrick Robertson, rayler not to be recept; James Setone; William Rob and Christaine Farquhar; Alexander Leslie of Pet-

capell ; Mr James Gordon, Coclarichies, brother ; James Grame ; Lodwick Lindsay.”*

22nd June 1649. “Intimation that non recept nor keep company with the persones following under the payne of censuring, viz. :” (a list of murderers and other criminals follows, in which we find) “Mr Adame Strachan excommunicat be the presbetrie of Deare for poperie ; Mr Wm. Lumsden and Helene Barklay his spous ; Jeane and Agnes Lumsden his daughters, excommunicat for poperie in the presbetrie of Aberdeen ; Ladie Delgatie, Sophia and Anna Hayes hir daughters ; James Knowes and Marjorie Malltoun excommunicat for poperie in the presbytrie of Turref ; Mr Wm. Maitland excommunicat for rebelione ; Thomas Minzies brother sone to Balgounie excommunicat for poperie.”†

22nd June 1649. “Its ordynit neane keep companey with Setone laird of Blaire excommunicat papist giuing gryt ofence to all the professors of the trueth being imployed as ane phisiciane throughe all parts of the countray the Assemblie as befoire for staying his scandalous conversing ordynes ilk minister within the pro-

* *Records of Old Aberdeen.* The Recorder seems to have considered punctuation superfluous. I have interspersed the passage with a few stops (it has none from beginning to end in the original) for the sake of weaker-minded readers.

† *Records of Old Aberdeen.*

vince to tack notice of the parts wherin he hants and the imployers recepters of him and hanters of his company and discharge the samen and proceid in discipline agaynst the transgressors of the sd act as they will be ansuerable at the nixt assemblie.”*

12th October 1651. “ Frances Irving sone to Mr Alex. Irving of Hiltone was ordyned out of pulpit to compeare befor the prisbetrie on tysday the 14 of this instant in the sessione hous in Abd. at ten hours before non and ther to anser for his poperie Lykwayes to subscriye the covenant.”†

26th April 1663. “ Concerning papists names such as ar not excommunicate alreadie are ordained to be chargit to the nixt sessione viz Elspet Gordon (in Buckie); Jeane Hunter; Wm Menzies; Alex. Menzies; Issobell Ord; Jeane Barclay; Margaret Lumsden; Margaret Wat; Marjorie Collisone; Margt Oliphant; Ladi Balgoni, and Helen Andersone as we are informed are excommunicat alreadie.”‡

3rd May 1663. “ It is to be representit to the pbry. that Mr Arthur Gordon hes been maried by a preist wt a papist womane and tale ther advyce theranent the nixt pbriall. meiting.”

* *Records of Old Aberdeen.*

† *Ibid.*

‡ *Ibid.*

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